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Volume 4, Number 1

Alternative Press REVIEW

YOUR GUIDE BEYOND THE MAINSTREAM

WAR CRIMINAL

**The Current Bombings:
Behind the Rhetoric**

Noam Chomsky

**Israel: 50 Years
of Conquest**

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Against the Grain

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**The Simple Truth: Selling
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Vicki Fox Wieselthier

**Midwest Anarchists
Speak Out!**



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EDITORIAL

Shills for NATO

The mainstream U.S. media often pride themselves on their "freedom" from any substantive restraints on their ability to let North Americans know what is happening throughout the world. Indeed, mainstream U.S. journalists are quick to point out when media in other nations merely parrot ruling party lines, often making accusations of "propaganda" whenever *their* "news" contradicts *our* "news." Yet, the idea that the mainstream U.S. media remain willing slaves to their Washington and corporate masters is nowhere more obvious than in their celebrations of death and destruction rained down upon official U.S. enemies in times of war.

Even while U.S. bombing continues to devastate Iraq—with the blessings of the U.S. media—in a nearly decade-long campaign of war and sanctions (which has resulted in the deaths of well over a million human beings, including about 750,000 children), these same media have also become cheerleaders for the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia.

Just as foreign media often spout propaganda which favors their own governments while demonizing the enemies of those governments, mainstream U.S. media predominantly take their cues from the ruling U.S. administration and from major corporate interests. The propaganda battle over Kosovo is just one more in an endless line of examples in which this rule is confirmed.

Propaganda, foreign *and* domestic, achieves its great effectiveness through several techniques, but primarily through a decontextualization of conflicts in which the favored party is portrayed positively and its "enemies" are portrayed negatively—at the same time in which large portions of the history and meanings of these conflicts are intentionally forgotten or obscured. Propaganda, disguised as "news," is always framed within the terms of the favored party's perspective, and nearly everything is interpreted through this inverting lens. The favored party's statements are almost always allowed to stand at face value, with little or no questioning, while statements from the "enemy" face intense skepticism, questioning or even outright disbelief. The interests, goals and values of the favored party are automatically assumed to be valid and correct, while those of the "enemy" are routinely considered invalid, corrupt or evil. Examples and stories supporting the interests of the favored party are sought out, dramatized and repeated over and over, while any counterexamples or contrasting stories are ignored, glossed over, or (when they just can't be ignored) reinterpreted in ways which minimize their impact. And perhaps most powerfully of all, the history leading up to the development of complex conflicts is selectively forgotten, rewritten and falsified. This is how propaganda functions in foreign nations. And this is how propaganda continues to flourish in U.S. media.

But people don't always believe propaganda. Some people are naturally skeptical. Others have learned from past experience that all governments and all major corporations tell lies whenever it is conve-

nient or profitable for them to do so (which can often be most of the time). They are people just like you, people who want to know more the world than their governments, and state or corporate media, want them to know.

So what exactly *is* missing from the current mainstream U.S. media coverage of the NATO war against Yugoslavia? Just ask yourself why it is that the mainstream media provide so little information about the following questions (when they aren't actively trying to evade them)?

- What is the relevant history of the conflict between ethnic Albanians and ethnic Serbs, including the history of Muslim/Christian conflicts in the Balkans?

- What is the relevant history of "ethnic cleansing," including its practice by all sides in the NATO/Yugoslav war, especially the notorious history of the U.S. extermination of Native Americans and the German extermination of European Jews, Romanis, and others? Why is ethnic cleansing permissible when practiced by the U.S. and its client states? Why was it permissible when Croatia (with U.S. support) drove hundreds of thousands of ethnic Serbs out of the Krajina region not that long ago?

- What are the *real* geopolitical and economic interests of the dominant countries driving the NATO bombing, the U.S. and Germany? What is the relationship of NATO's expanding role to the decline of the United Nations and of international law?

- What role did the IMF, the World Bank, Germany and the U.S. play in the break-up of Yugoslavia? Why did the U.S. and Germany both desire a devastating end to the multi-ethnic, socialist Yugoslav experiment?

- What justifies the extensive bombing of civilian targets by NATO? Why does NATO refuse to take any responsibility for the death and dislocation of both Serbs and ethnic Albanians caused by its bombing campaign? Why does the U.S. media avoid explaining that NATO "cluster bombs" are actually anti-personnel weapons that are increasingly being dropped on civilian targets? Why does the mainstream media avoid any searching discussion of the U.S. use of depleted uranium ordnance against the Yugoslavs?

- Why has the U.S. mainstream media minimized or ignored the recent indictment of President Clinton, the other heads of NATO states, and the architects of the NATO bombardment for war crimes in the World Court of Justice?

You won't find the answers to these questions in the mainstream media. You'll have to look to alternative media, and especially to the alternative press, in order to find out what is really happening in the Balkans. It's all up to you. Please keep turning these pages.

Jason McQuinn, Editor
Tom Wheeler, Co-Editor
Chuck Munson, Co-Editor



Activist Carol Moore

Photo: Mike Flugennock

ALTERNATIVE PRESS REVIEW

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*Your Guide Beyond
the Mainstream*

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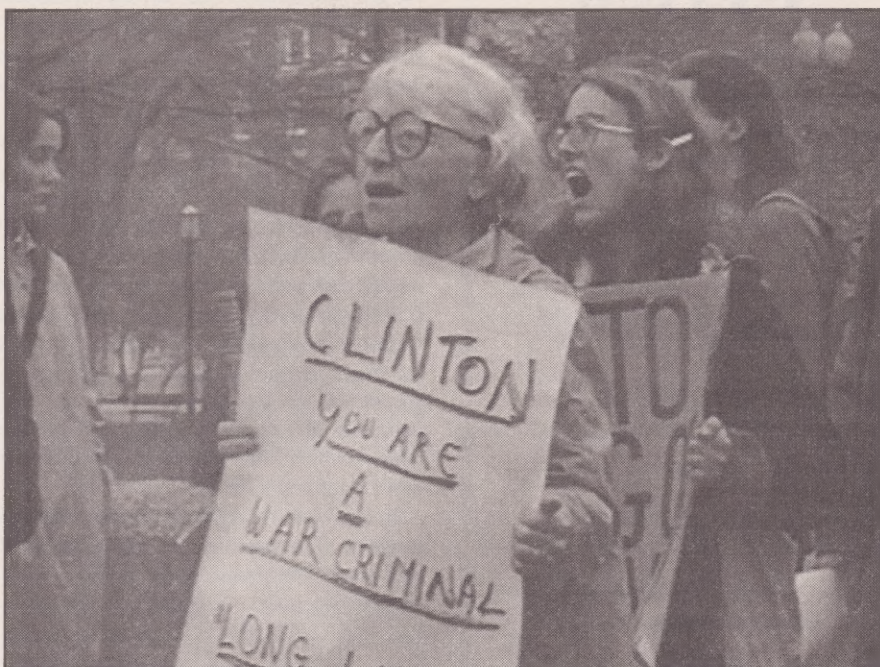
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"The whirligig of time has its revenges."
-B.A.G. Fuller

Alternative Press Notes

Welcome to a special theme issue of *Alternative Press Review*. In this issue we focus on the current NATO war with Yugoslavia. As you will read, the alternative press has done an excellent job covering the war and analyzing the real reasons why Yugoslavia is being bombed to a state where mainstream pundits say it will take 45 years to rebuild. Alternative publications such as *Z Magazine* have maintained excellent websites about the wars (don't forget Iraq) that put the Pentagon lapdog mainstream press to shame. Contrary to what CNN might want you to believe, there has been widespread opposition to the Balkans War since the cruise missiles started flying. We hope our special section demonstrates why you should patronize the alternative press for news and opinion which Rupert Murdoch and Ted Turner don't want you to hear.

In this issue we reprint some fascinating interviews with anarchists in the Midwest U.S. who are involved with some exciting projects. Forced psychiatric drugging is another issue that you'll be hearing more about in months to come. We're happy to bring you a special article on the subject from *MadNation*. Finally, "Against the Grain" examines the controversy over genetically-modified foods, which is a hot topic around the world and just now getting attention in the U.S.

We had hoped to get this issue to you about a month earlier, but basically changed horses

in midstream in order to put together this special issue on the War in the Balkans.

You may notice a few odd things here and there in this issue. That's because the layout and production have moved from Columbia, MO to Arlington, VA. Not only is a new crew doing the layout, but this is the first time *Alternative Press Review* has been submitted to the printer electronically. That's right, no gluesticks were used in producing this issue.

The author of the Israel piece wrote it under a pseudonym, Miguel Xolotl, which appears on the cover, but he asked us to run it under his own name, David Watson, which appears in the Table of Contents and with the article itself.

We'd like to mention that one of our contributors, Kevin Keating, recently had a run in with the San Francisco police. It seems that they aren't taking too kindly to his involvement in the Mission Yuppie Eradication Project, a grassroots effort working to combat gentrification in San Francisco's Mission District.

We promised you that we would start printing 84-page issues, but it looks like we'll stick with 76 pages indefinitely. We're doing this for cost reasons.

Our review section in this issue is a bit shorter than we'd planned, but expect an expanded review section in the next issue.

Speaking of next issues, the Fall issue will be published in September.

—Chuck0, Co-Editor

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Please enclose an adequate-sized self-addressed, stamped envelope with all articles, photos, and graphic art if you want it returned, or a 33¢ SASE if you want to receive a response. All other unsolicited submissions become the property of A.A.L. Press. We prefer that written submissions be typed and double-spaced; ASCII, WordPerfect or Word format by email or on 3.5" diskettes (PC compatible) are encouraged. Please do not send original artwork, send copies.

Alternative Press Review may edit submissions for grammar and style, although we always try to keep any editing to an absolute minimum.

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LETTERS

Letters are welcome!

As many letters to *Alternative Press Review*—concerning appropriate topics of potential interest to readers—will be published as is possible given the space limitations of this format. All letters should be no more than one typed, double-spaced page (no longer than 600 words). For anything of greater length, please query first to see if there is any chance we will be able to publish it. Letters will include the writer's name, city and state, province or country, unless otherwise requested. Send all letters to *Alternative Press Review*, c/o A.A.L. Press, POB 4710, Arlington, VA 22204-4710

Men we may love

Dear Editors,
Thank you for your review

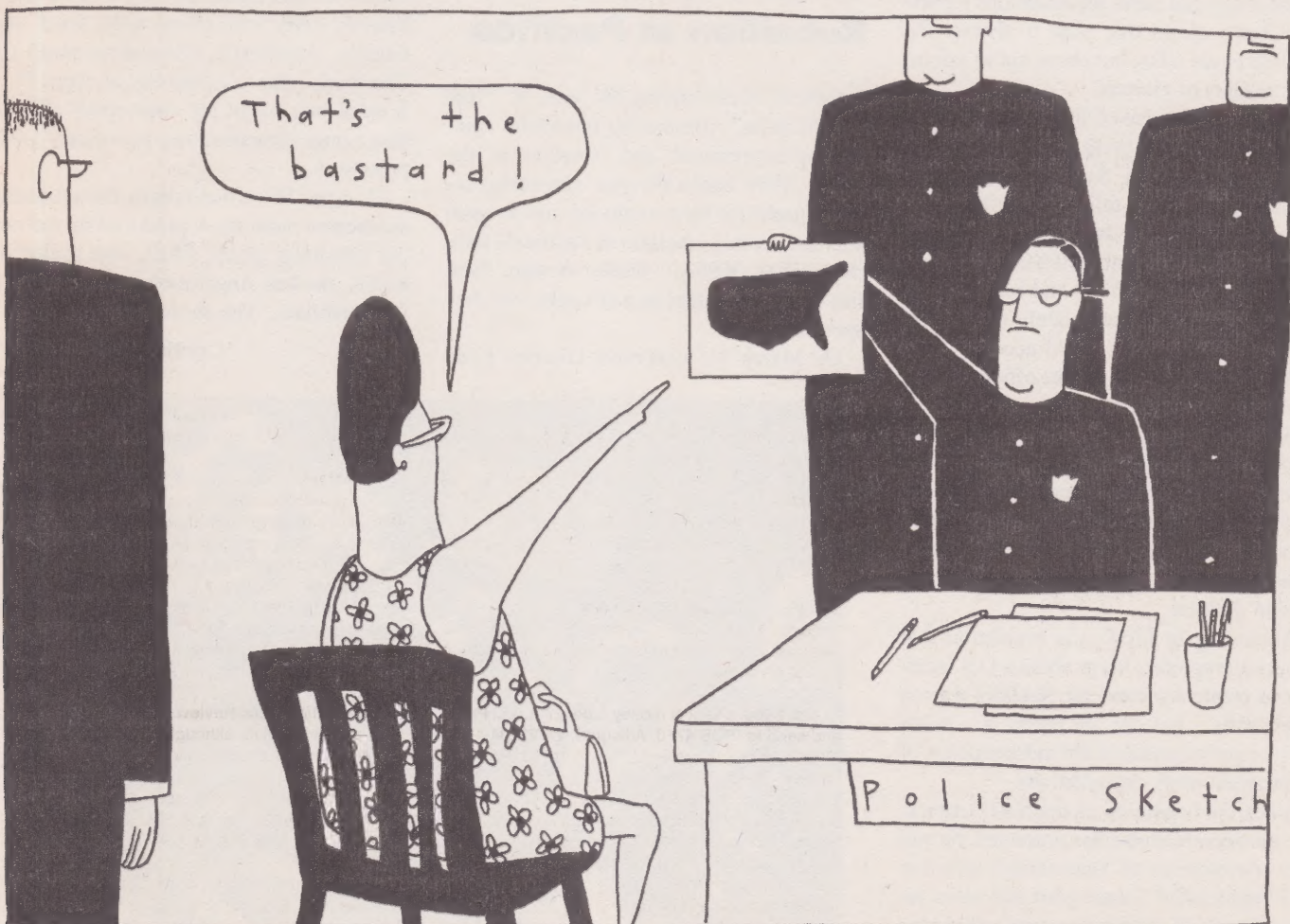
of *Girlfriends Magazine* in your Winter 1998-9 issue. However, we feel compelled to note a couple of points in the review that need correction. First, *Girlfriends* is now the "Magazine of Lesbian Enjoyment." Next, the reviewer who went through our "Men We Love" issue described the main feature as "mostly photogenic white men." Apparently, he or she overlooked our coverage of Reggie Miller, Oscar de la Hoya, Jesse Jackson, Sean Sasser, the San Francisco 49ers, and even Mushu the dragon as "Men We Love."

We do appreciate your coverage. Please keep us in mind for any future reviews.
Sincerely,
Nyondo Nadi

Assistant Editor
Girlfriends Magazine
3415 Cesar Chavez, Ste 101
San Francisco, CA 94110

Editor's note: What I actually said was that the Girlfriends Magazine "Men We Love" issue included "mostly photogenic, rich, white men." I notice that you don't criticize my use of the words "photogenic" or (the magically disappeared word) "rich" to describe your choices, only the word "white." Yet, by my count (even including Mushu the dragon) I remain entirely correct in my assessment. However, to reassure you, I didn't mean to imply in any way that Girlfriends was slighting non-whites in its

selections, and I acknowledge that I would have better communicated my major point if I had left out "white." The real message in my comment was that this was a collection of relatively powerful and rich, and thus mostly establishment-oriented males, who happen to also be gay, pro-lesbian or pro-feminist. For those with genuinely alternative or radical values, any list of "Men We Love" you publish that includes political gangsters like Vice President Al Gore and former White House Press Secretary Mike McCurry, or corporate CEOs like Robert Haas of Levi Strauss, will remain, at best, contemptible.
Jason McQuinn



"For globalism to work, America can't be afraid to act like the mighty superpower that it is.... The hidden hand of the market will never work without a hidden fist. McDonald's cannot flourish without McDonnell Douglas, the designer of the F-15. And the hidden fist that keeps the world safe for Silicon Valley's technologies is called the United States Army, Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps." — "What the World Needs Now," Thomas Friedman, New York Times, March 28, 1999

Was Rambouillet Another Tonkin Gulf?

New evidence has emerged confirming that the U.S. deliberately set out to thwart the Rambouillet peace talks in France in order to provide a "trigger" for NATO's bombing of Yugoslavia, according to a recent Fairness & Accuracy In Reporting (FAIR) media advisory.

FAIR also reports that correspondents from major American news organizations reportedly knew about this plan to thwart the Kosovo peace talks, but chose not to inform their readers or viewers.

The June 14 issue of the *Nation* reports: An impeccable press source who regularly travels with Secretary of State Madeleine Albright told this [writer] that, swearing reporters to deep-background confidentiality at the Rambouillet talks, a senior State Department official had bragged that the United States "deliberately set the bar higher than the Serbs could accept." The Serbs needed, according to the official, a little bombing to see reason.

Written by George Kenney, a former State Department Yugoslavia desk officer, the article details how State Department officials intentionally crafted a peace plan that would provoke a rejection from Serb negotiators. Kenney compared this plan to the Gulf of Tonkin incident.

According to FAIR, the revelation that American reporters knew about a U.S. strategy to create a pretext for NATO's war on Yugoslavia — but did not report it — raises serious questions about the independence of mainstream news organizations.

Since the beginning of the NATO attack, the mainstream media has presented the war as a consequence of Yugoslavia's rejection of a "reasonable" peace plan and news reports have been almost universal in blaming

the failure of negotiations on Serbian intransigence. What has escaped the interest of the mainstream media was the fact that the Serbs were not opposed to an international presence and were willing to consider international peacekeepers led by either the United Nations (UN) or the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). This didn't prevent the *New York Times* from reporting that Milosevic "has absolutely refused to entertain an outside force in Kosovo," once again lending credence to claims the *Times* merely serves as enthusiastic cheerleaders and propagandists for "our" side.

The U.S. demanded the peace plan to be implemented by NATO troops under a NATO command which essentially amounted to a foreign occupation of Kosovo by hostile forces, an arrangement virtually no country would capitulate to. "We accept nothing less than a complete agreement, including a NATO-led force," declared Madeleine Albright.

Rebellion at Pacifica

Instead of celebrating 50 years of "free speech radio," "promoting pluralistic community expression" and "freedom of the press," 1999 marks the year simmering internal problems have exploded into an open and contentious rebellion at Pacifica's flagship station, KPFA. Oddly enough, Pacifica is now engulfed in a struggle over free speech.

On March 31, Executive Director Lynn

Chadwick fired popular KPFA General Manager Nicole Sawaya, allegedly because "she wasn't a good fit for the organization." Her firing fueled a staff revolt and on just one day's notice, more than 150 staff and listeners staged a noisy demonstration to protest Sawaya's dismissal. The staff also struck back with a week of on-air comments and news reports critical of the firing, in open violation of Pacifica's notorious gag rule which prohibits mentioning station business on the air.

Pacifica's most well-known voice, Larry Bensky, made a defiant speech at the rally and devoted his April 4th show to exposing Chadwick as a liar, dissecting Chadwick's official press statement which claimed the firing of Sawaya was "not news." Many media outlets thought otherwise too, including the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *San Francisco Bay Guardian*, *Anderson Valley Advertiser*, the *Nation*, *East Bay Express*, the *Fresno Bee*, and *CounterPunch*.

Bensky also called on listeners to inundate Chadwick and Pacifica's Board Chair Mary Frances Berry with phone calls, faxes, and e-mails. Apparently, this was too much for Chadwick. She fired Bensky on April 9th. A week later, on the 50th anniversary of Pacifica, a huge demonstration drew nearly 1,000 protestors.

On April 19th, CounterSpin, the nationally syndicated radio show produced by the media watchdog group, FAIR, was pulled by KPFA, the Los Angeles-based Pacifica network affiliate. The show was censored be-

Continued on page 14



Larry Bensky addresses Pacifica protesters

Bits & Pieces

Tom Wheeler

"Freedom is about authority. Freedom is about the willingness of every single human being to cede to lawful authority a great deal of discretion about what you do and how you do it." — Rudolph Giuliani

ZINE PUBLISHER EXPELLED

Joe Krahn, a high school newspaper staff member at Wisconsin Dell High School in Wisconsin, was expelled for distributing his zine *Difi* on school grounds. In a closed hearing by the school board, the 16-year-old student was expelled until the age of 21, when the district is under no obligation to provide Joe with an education. The zine contained what administrators described as highly offensive material. The offensive materials included criticism of the school and school personnel, among them a suggestion that the school emblem and the American flag should be set ablaze. When it came to providing an explanation of its decision, school officials have been tight-lipped saying only that Krahn was punished for "repeatedly breaking school rules" that included "acts of insubordination and disruption of the educational environment." Apparently, exercising independent thought and openly questioning authority pose dire threats to the "educational environment." Mike Hiestand, an attorney with the Student Press Law Center in Washington, D.C., a nonprofit organization that defends the First Amendment rights of high school and college journalists, harshly criticized the expulsion. "Students bringing weapons to school get far less punishment than this kid got for publishing a newspaper," said Hiestand. It appears school officials find the pen more dangerous than the sword.

CHEVRON GAGS PACIFICA

The oil giant Chevron must still be smarting over *Pacifica*'s shocking report of their involvement in the murder of two Nige-

rian villagers last May—a story that has prompted calls for a congressional investigation of Chevron's practices in the Niger Delta. Chevron went into spin control mode and even went so far as to bar a credentialed *Pacifica* news reporter from attending a public news conference with US Senator Dianne Feinstein. Chevron now claims it did so because *Pacifica* is an advocacy group, not a news organization.



Amy Goodman, host of
Democracy Now

Apparently, the Chevron flacks were unaware that Amy Goodman's "Democracy Now" program which broke the Nigeria killing story, has been awarded the George Polk award for Radio Reporting, regarded as one of the most-prized in broadcast journalism. When asked why Chevron would make such an assertion, their flacks simply said: "That is our opinion."

GUERRILLA MEDIA

In May, more than 40,000 people in Canada were treated to a parody edition of Conrad Black's *National Post*. The four-page satire, prepared to look like Conrad's flagship Canadian daily, was produced by Vancouver's Guerrilla Media (www.guerrillamedia.org) to highlight Canada's increasingly obscene media ownership into fewer and fewer hands. More than 150 guerrillas and supporters in Toronto, Vancouver and Victoria handed

out tens of thousands of copies of the bogus daily to commuters and placed several thousand more in the *National Post*'s own newspaper boxes. "Whether it's print, radio or TV, the extreme levels of ownership concentration in Canada is a serious problem," says Guerrilla Media spokesman Beau Gus Monniker. "Guerrilla Media has created this parody of the *Post* to point up the downside of letting a special interest group of a few wealthy men like Hollinger/Southam's Conrad Black or Power Corp's Paul Desmarais control the news we read." Monniker also points out that Conrad Black doesn't hide his intolerance towards editors who oppose his views and notes the media baron's downsizing has severely curtailed local coverage in many small and medium-sized Hollinger/Southam papers. The 4-page *Post* parody features plenty of satire, a discussion of media concentration in Canada and its effects on editorial coverage, and a back page advertisement of a horror movie called *The ConBlob*, a "Megalomedia/TeleTubby/Cuts of Thousands co-production of a Conrad B. DeMillions film." Expect future newspaper parodies from these direct-action media critics in the future.

APRIL OLIVER SUES CNN

Former CNN producer April Oliver filed suit against her former employer for wrongful termination over her controversial report on "Operation Tailwind" which alleged U.S. forces used nerve gas against American defectors in Laos during the Vietnam War. CNN retracted the story a few weeks after the broadcast. It also fired two producers and reprimanded Peter Arnett, who ultimately left the network. Oliver's lawsuit charges CNN fired her last year "primarily on business and public relations concerns." The lawsuit also claims that senior management at CNN and Time knew the Tailwind report was "inherently volatile" and that they "thoroughly reviewed and approved the sourcing and sub-

stance of the Tailwind report prior to broadcast and publication." None of the senior managers were fired or reprimanded.

NATO INSPECTORS ARRESTED

Over 250 arrests have been made at NATO headquarters in Brussels in the final days of May as "citizen inspection teams" organized by a group called For Mother Earth were attempting to gather evidence about NATO's Nuclear Planning Group. The arrests followed the refusal by NATO to hand over the information. The citizen inspectors demanded the immediate release of data about NATO's nuclear force, documents that they planned to turn over to the International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Court. While the citizen inspectors welcome the indictment of President Milosevic of war crimes, they also want NATO "brought to court for the preparation of crimes against humanity." More than 130 policemen have been called up to prevent anybody from entering NATO buildings. "This is a war zone. We cannot tolerate anybody interfering with NATO," declared the police officer in charge.

NATO CHARGED WITH WAR CRIMES

On May 7th, a formal complaint by a group of 15 lawyers and law professors from several countries charging Bill Clinton, Madeleine Albright, Tony Blair, Robin Cook, Wesley Clark and 60 other government and NATO officials with war crimes committed in NATO's bombing campaign against Yugoslavia was lodged with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. The list of crimes includes "willful killing" and "willfully causing great suffering or serious injury to body

or health, extensive destruction of property, not justified by military necessity and carried out unlawfully and wantonly." The complaint also alleges "open violation" of the United Nations charter, the NATO treaty itself, the Geneva Conventions and the Principles of International Law Recognized by the Nuremberg Tribunal. One of the law professors, Michael Mandel

senatives refused to give approval for the war with a tie 213 to 213 vote. Legal scholars Michael Ratner and Jules Lobel – who litigated *Dellums v. Bush*, the case that forced President Bush to obtain congressional approval for the Gulf War in 1991 – are representing Rep. Tom Campbell (R-CA) in *Campbell v. Clinton*. In a joint statement Ratner and Lobel said: "The

President was violating the Constitution on the first day of the war; now amazingly enough he becomes the first President ever to violate the termination provision of the War Powers Resolution. Bombings and killings are being carried out in our names, but without the consent of the American people through their representatives. It's a very sad day. The imperial Presidency has reappeared with a vengeance." So much for the "rule of law."



Watercannon in action at anti-NATO protest
27TH OF MAY - NATO HEADQUARTERS, BRUSSELS
Source: Digital Camera by Liron Koren

said: "The bombing of civilians is not only immoral, it is criminal and punishable under the laws governing the Tribunal." A copy of the formal complaint is posted on the Internet at www.infoshop.org/complaint.html.

WAR POWERS VIOLATION

On May 25, 1999, a historic event occurred. It marked the first time since the enactment of the 1973 War Powers Resolution that a President has openly violated the termination requirements of that law. That law requires congressional approval if the U.S. military is to engage in hostilities for more than 60 days. If the President does not have explicit authorization, he has 60 days to terminate any use of force. On April 28, the House of Repre-

JUVENILE JUSTICE BILL TARGETS ACTIVISTS

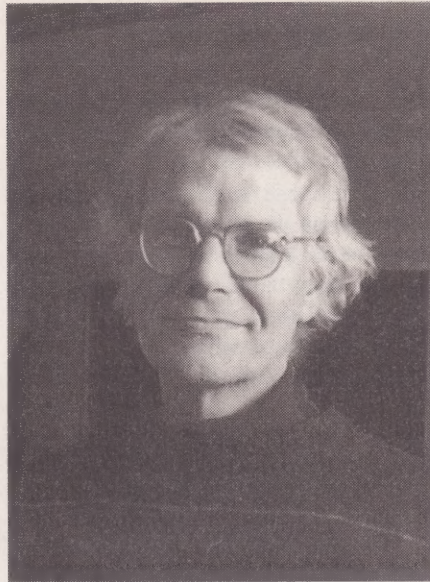
In the wake of recent school shootings in Colorado and Georgia, the U.S. Senate has passed the Juvenile Justice Bill (S.254) which contains provisions designed specifically to target animal rights and environmental activists. The bill calls for the creation of a national database of animal and environmental activists and their "crimes" that would be overseen by the FBI. The bill also allows for selective prosecution, singling out those activists for increased prison sentences above and beyond those they would normally face for criminal convictions. The bill also seeks to target websites and publications that contain information on bomb-making which could have a chilling effect on free speech.

"THERE OUGHT TO BE LIMITS TO FREEDOM!"

These words were uttered by presidential candidate George W. Bush during a press conference in reference to a satirical website GWBush.com, which parodies Bush's official site and discusses his past cocaine use. This outburst followed attempts by Bush campaign attorneys to have the site shut down. Bush's legal efforts began with a cease-and-desist letter claiming that GWBush.com violated copyright laws. After noticing the website lampooning Bush, the Bush campaign scrambled to reserve up to 260 'bush'-related domain names including bushsux.org, in an attempt to prevent further embarrassment. Now Bush has filed a legal complaint against the owners of the website with the Federal Election Commission. Most of the content on the website was provided by RTMARK, a group that specialized in calling attention to corporate subversion of the U.S. political and electoral process. "George W. Bush Jr. apparently thinks small-time folk should have to register with the government before exercising free speech on the internet," said Rita Mae Rakoczi, a lawyer and RTMARK representative.

JIM GOAD PLEADS GUILTY

The controversial author Jim Goad, who first gained notoriety with his zine *Answer Me!*, was sentenced to three years in jail after accepting a plea bargain and pleading guilty to attempted kidnapping, attempted assault and misdemeanor assault. Goad was arrested last May for assaulting his girlfriend, Sky Ryan. Prosecutor Rod Underhill was expected to use Goad's writings as evidence in a criminal trial. However, prosecutors were worried that Ryan's history wouldn't play well in front of a jury. Ryan had left numerous threatening messages on Goad's answering machine that Goad saved and cataloged over their one-year relationship. Goad also took out a restraining order against Ryan just three weeks before he was arrested. This information would have come out during the trial. Expect Goad to be released sometime in the year 2000.



David Linn Briars

MCLIBEL VOLUNTEER PASSES AWAY

David Linn Briars, 52, died Feb. 26, 1999, at his home in Craftsbury, Vermont, after a long battle with cancer. David was best known for his work with the McLibel defendants, setting up the U.S. McLibel Support Campaign to spread the news about the landmark case across the U.S. and around the world. Fellow activist Brian Tokar credited David with literally inventing the model of electronic activism that is used today by everyone from Greenpeace to the Zapatistas.

YUPPIE ERADICATION PROJECT

Back in the 1980's, you could purchase and display "Die Yuppie Scum" posters, t-shirts and bumperstickers without much fanfare. Post something like that today in liberal San Francisco and you'll be accused of engaging in hate crimes. Not only that, you're liable to be charged with making terrorist threats. In fact, that's exactly what happened to anti-yuppie crusader, Kevin Keating. Keating allegedly heads the Mission Yuppie Eradication Project (MYEP), a grassroots group with some rather creative ways to raise awareness about gentrification issues in the Mission district of San Francisco. MYEP flyers posted around the neighborhood urge folks to van-

Continued on page 14

U.S. DOCUMENT RECOMMENDING STATE TERRORISM

From "Essentials of Post-Cold War Deterrence", US Strategic Command, 1995. Partially declassified and released under the Freedom of Information Act.

Maintaining Ambiguity

While it is crucial to explicitly define and communicate the acts or damage that we would find unacceptable, we should not be too specific about our responses. Because of the value that comes from the ambiguity of what the US may do to an adversary if the acts we seek to deter are carried out, it hurts to portray ourselves as too fully rational and cool-headed. The fact that some elements may appear to be potentially "out of control" can be beneficial to creating and reinforcing fears and doubts within the minds of an adversary's decision makers. This essential sense of fear is the working force of deterrence. That the US may become irrational and vindictive if its vital interests are attacked should be part of the national persona we project to all adversaries.

Creative Deterrence

Beyond traditional targeting of forces and infrastructure it may be necessary to consider other unique motivators of either a society or its leaders. That tactic applied by the Soviet Union during the Lebanon crisis is a case in point: When three of its citizens and their driver were kidnapped and killed, two days later the Soviets had delivered to the leader of the revolutionary activity a package containing a single testicle - that of his eldest son - with a message that said in no uncertain terms, "never bother out people again." It was successful throughout the period of the conflicts there. Such an insightful tailoring of what is valued within a culture, and its weaving into a deterrence message, along with the projection of the capability that be mustered, is the type of creative thinking that must go into deciding what to hold at risk in framing deterrent targeting for multilateral situations in the future.

LIKE FATHER, LIKE SON?

Last December, the boring Clintonite weekly *The Nation* featured acrimonious exchanges between Alexander Cockburn and *Vanity Fair* columnist Christopher Hitchens. Their feud concerned allegations that in the late 1940's George Orwell provided the names of alleged sympathizers of the Soviet Union to Celia Kirwan, a British intelligence agent Orwell had fallen in love with. In the Dec. 14th *Nation*, Hitchens refuted the claim that Orwell's passing a list of names of suspected "fellow travelers" to Kirwan was snitching. Cockburn has responded with increasingly venomous allegations against Orwell. An examination of the Spanish Civil War journalism of Claud Cockburn, Alex's father, sheds light on Cockburn's apparent intense personal stake in this matter. Claud's writings are collected in *Cockburn in Spain; Dispatches from the Spanish Civil War*, edited by James Pettifer and published by Lawrence and Wishart.

At the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, millions of Spanish wage-slaves and peasants rose in an uprising that was in many ways more profound than the Russian Revolution of 1917, and came close to being the most radical social revolution of all time. The state collapsed in Madrid and Barcelona as the overwhelmingly anarcho-syndicalist working class collectivized the economy of the most industrialized area of Spain, and formed armed militias to defend their gains. Many soldiers and sailors mutinied and came over to the side of the revolution, and most of the officer corps and police were put to flight or killed in two-thirds of the country. In the rural region of Aragon, the revolutionary poor created libertarian communist zones where all wealth was held in common and money and the market economy were abolished. These events were appalling to Stalin and his underlings during the Popular Front period, a period of alliances between the Stalinists and any non-fascist political formations who would have them. Eager to form alliances with French business interests and the British Empire, and buy breathing space for his murderous state capitalist regime, Stalin sent his puppet communist parties and their "International Brigades" to Spain to restore power to the property-owning classes. Anarcho-syndicalist indecisiveness, incapacity and betrayal of the revolutionary movement allowed the Spanish Communist Party

and its foreign backers to gain power, disarm the anti-capitalist militias and repress unruly proles and peasants. *Homage to Catalonia*, George Orwell's account of what he saw during the Spanish Civil War, was the first major English language work to reveal that a proletarian revolution had begun in Spain, and that the so-called "Communists" were out to crush it.

For Stalinists of the Popular Front period,



Alexander Cockburn

photo: JoAnn Wypijewski

everyone who wasn't a fascist was considered to be a potential ally, including broad sections of the capitalist class, and anyone who wasn't their ally was smeared as a "fascist", especially combative elements of the working class. Claud Cockburn was the leading correspondent in Spain for the British Stalinist paper, the *Daily Worker*. In the 1930's this paper had a vast circulation among the working class of the U.K. In response to a spontaneous anti-Stalinist uprising by the working class of Barcelona in May 1937, Cockburn helped spread the lie that Hitler and Mussolini had planned the revolt. In the *Daily Worker*, May 11, 1937, Cockburn wrote, under the pseudonym "Frank Pitcairn":

"Catalonia is full of German and Italian agents working desperately to reorganize the rebellion against the People's Front government...German and Italian agents, who poured into Barcelona ostensibly in order to 'prepare' the notorious 'Congress of the Fourth International' had one big task. It was this: they were - in cooperation with the local Trotskyists - to prepare a situation of disorder and bloodshed... a situation in which the Italian and German governments could land troops or marines on the Catalan

coasts...The instrument for all this lay ready to hand for the Germans and Italians in the shape of the Trotskyist organization known as the POUM." ("Pitcairn lifts Barcelona Veil; Trotskyist rising as signal," *Daily Worker*, May 11, 1937, Pages 182 to 184 in the Lawrence and Wishart text)

The Barcelona "May Days" of 1937 was the last large-scale working class insurrection before World War Two. The POUM, the "Workers' Party of Marxist Unification," was not a Trot group, but a politically muddled, pro-Bolshevik, social democratic party in whose militia columns many foreign leftists and revolutionaries fought, among them Orwell and the Surrealist poet Benjamin Peret. Although they only offered tepid resistance to the Stalinist counter-revolution, the POUM ended up being destroyed by slander and police terror, and Claud Cockburn helped pedal the slanders:

"In the past, the leaders of the POUM have frequently sought to deny their complicity as agents of a fascist cause against the People's Front. This time they are convicted out of their own mouths as clearly as their allies, operating in the Soviet Union, who confessed to the crimes of espionage, sabotage and attempted murder against the government of the Soviet Union."

His reference to confessions in the Soviet Union is Claud Cockburn's approving nod to the results of the Moscow Trials, a high point of Stalinist totalitarian delirium, where Bukharin, Zinoviev, Kamenev and other leading Bolshevik bureaucrats confessed to absurd charges that they had long been agents of Hitler, the Japanese Emperor and other malefactors, and were subsequently shot.

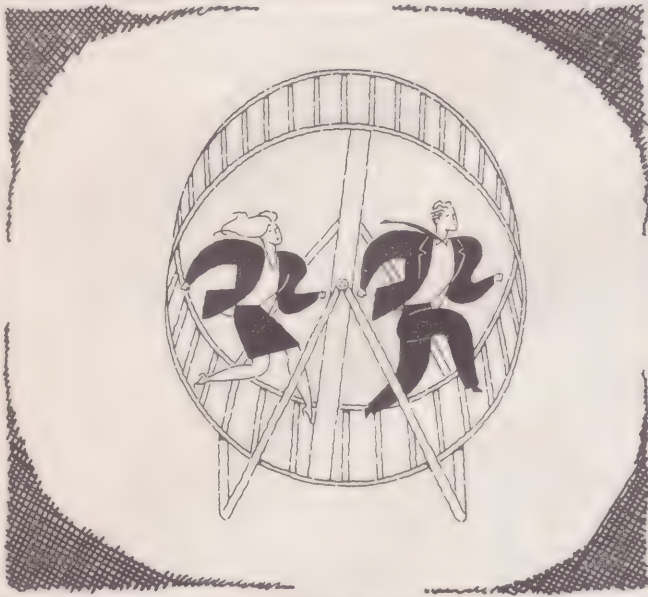
From Spain in 1937 to May 1968 in France, and Italy in the 1970's, Stalinist trade union hacks, party flunkies, journalists and cops have fought to defeat every authentic anti-capitalist mass movement of the 20th century. *Cockburn in Spain* thoroughly documents Claud Cockburn's role as a parrot for Stalinist counter-revolution and terror during the Spanish Civil War, and George Orwell devoted several pages of Chapter XI of *Homage to Catalonia* to refuting Cockburn/Pitcairn's hogwash about the May 1937 events. In his obsessive attention to George Orwell's now gravely impugned integrity, Alexander Cockburn may be trying to defend the repugnant legacy of his dear old dad. George Orwell was a contradictory character, and a politically confused indi-

Continued on page 14

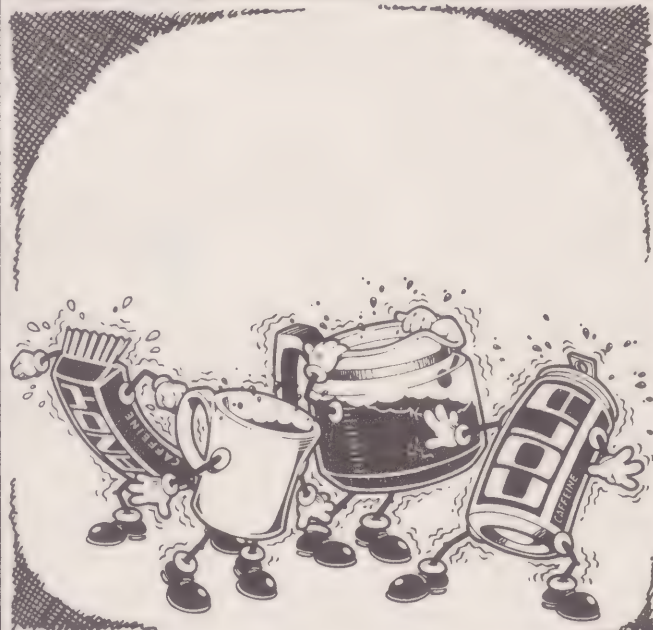
christian angst

by terry everton

Hey modern worker! Does the hectic pace of today's corporate rat race leave you feeling run down at the end of your work day?



Then by all means find solace with the ingestion of your daily allowance of *perfectly legal stimulants!*

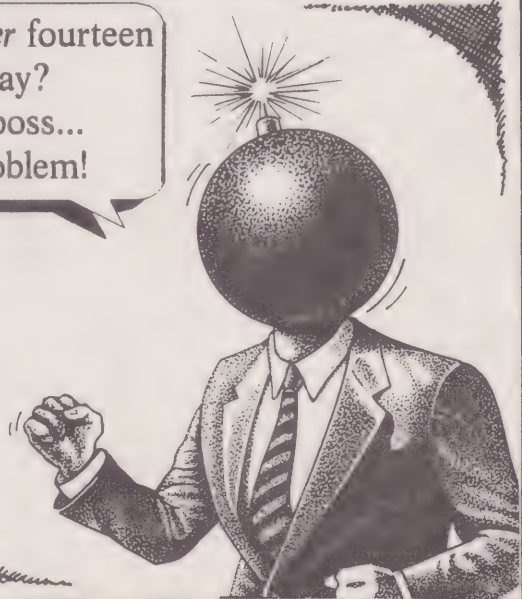


That's right...You have no greater ally in the war against workplace fatigue than your good friends nicotine, caffeine and sugar!



So what are you standing around for? Have a refreshing cigarette and coffee...*And get your sorry ass back to work!*

Another fourteen hour day?
Sure, boss...
No problem!



A plea for the Ancient Forest!

I was snug in my sleeping bag in a hanging hut in the ancient forest canopy of the rainforest of the Pacific Northwest. And just before I was asleep, I felt a light, shivery weight on my legs. It was ticklish, the way the little feet quivered with energy, the creature so high on life, on curiosity, on the will to survive, as it travels the branches in its nightly forage for food.

Startled by quivering creature contact I shifted and sat up, the rodent scampered up the tree a ways, but just a little ways. Realizing I had been visited by a Northern Flying Squirrel I smiled and bade it good night and again nestled down feeling safer and more comfortable in my treetop bed knowing the natives felt comfortable approaching me. Then it ran up my body and welcomed me face to furry face. I think I'm going to stay a while! Then briefly and tentatively, a flying squirrel sat on my face.

The next morning I watched a pair of these wing-flapped rodents as they sat on our porch checking out us and our food. Our food secured in buckets, they settled on gnawing on newsprint. They looked at us bravely with black eyes that said, "okay, you can stay." There is no question who is a guest in whose home here.

Have you ever seen a flying squirrel "fly"?

A flying squirrel can leap from a tree branch and glide up to 200 feet downwards through the canopy to another tree. They glide on flaps of skin that unfold between their forearms and their sides. They can steer themselves left and right as they glide, and as they land their flaps come all the way out like parachutes and they land gently and stealthily on a branch. They can also dive-bomb.

I'm sitting 150 feet up between the massive trunks of two magnificent old growth Douglas Fir trees and one old Hemlock. This 96 total acres of publicly owned, rare, low-elevation, old growth forest is slated to be clearcut by Zip-O-Sawmills of Eugene, Oregon. This timber sale is above the North Fork of Fall Creek in the Willamette National Forest. Known as the Clark timber sale, this popular recreation area has been temporarily spared from logging due to the ongoing attention, which began last April when a village of treesitters moved into treehouses that reach heights of 210 feet into the upper canopy. To this day these forest defenders continue to speak out in favor of a bill introduced in congress to end corrupt logging on public lands.

These trees were supposed to be cut down last spring by Zip-O-Sawmills of Eugene, Oregon, but public attention has caused Zip-O-

to take a wait and see approach. This area was once set aside and protected as critical habitat for the Northern Spotted Owl. The Spotted Owl is an indicator species, which means it's decline is a reflection of the decline of many other rare, old growth forest dependent species. Even though the Forest Service is breaking the law by logging US Fish and Wildlife Service designated "critical habitat;" even though the Forest Service is breaking the law by not surveying for rare and sensitive species; the Forest Service continues to maintain that Congress has given them the authority to break the laws. Congress says this is necessary in order to put out the annual yield in board feet that it promises to industry.

Since the Northern Flying Squirrel, prime Spotted Owl food is not considered "threatened," their habitat is considered expendable by Congress, though the truth is that the unprotected old growth patches of this forest are one last sanctuary for these beautiful native aeronauts. And since a squirrel rarely ranges beyond a 30-acre area, these Fall Creek flying squirrels certainly will die. We, their human relations, can help them by living with them in the trees. You can help us by sending a message to your federal representatives, to the Forest Service and to Zip-O-Sawmills. **STOP LOGGING OUR PUBLIC-OWNED FOREST LANDS!**

I am not uncomfortable or unhappy here on this dark winter night, on a hanging cushioned platform with a tarp roof, listening to the radio and writing by candlelight. I am not cold or hungry, there is nothing I need that I don't have. I don't have any money, but what would I do with that up here? When I go to bed and blow out the candles, a flying squirrel might approach me and run across my face. It might even bust into the flour bag by my head again. I don't mind, I like the little critters. And as comfortable and happy as I am in their home, I know there are plenty of other places I could go on this earth and survive. Not so for the flying squirrels. If we leave their treetop homes, their homes are coming down. Our departure would leave the squirrels at the mercy of the U.S. Forest Service and Zip-O-Sawmill trying to make a quick buck.

And the trees would fall. And the squirrels would fly from tree to tree, and tree after tree would fall and still they would flee, until nothing was left but the few sparsely separated trees marked orange in spray paint



Red Cloud Thunder

around their trunks, the diseased trees, the dead snags, the "not suitable for timber harvest" rejects. But these would be few and far between, further than a flying squirrel can fly. And there's nowhere to go, nothing to eat in the air or on the ground and there are giant industrial machines turning and churning all around. The flying squirrels have nowhere to fly, and so they die. How could we possibly leave these trees, knowing the flying squirrels and their plight?

People tell me I'm wasting my time, to get a "real job," to live in the "real world." But what could be more real than the wind and the rain, the sway of a big ancient tree. The mountains in the distance, the red clouded sunset, the hoot of an owl or a growl in the night, the fluttery, fidgety feeling of furry little feet on my face and in the flour?
By Khaos Take Action:

1) Please call, write or e-mail your Government representatives and ask them to stop the corrupt logging program that "manages" our public lands, support the National Forest protection Act.

2) Call Zip-O-Sawmills (541-343-7758) and tell them: Don't cut the Clark Timber Sale!

3) Call, write or e-mail the Forest Service and tell them to shut down the Clark Timber Sale! Willamette National Forest: (541-465-6521) 211 E. 7th ave. Eugene, OR 97440 solson/r6pnw_willamette@fs.fed.us Chief of the Forest Service Mike Dombeck: wo/co@fs.fed.us

4) Come live in the trees with us! or send us financial support: Cascadia Forest Defenders! PO Box 11122, Eugene, OR 97440 www.ecoecho.org 541-484-2997

One issue that I feel is very central to the Fall Creek treesit is the issue of anarchism. Anarchy is something that doesn't get mentioned much when they write about us in the newspapers. There's a few reasons for this: 1)because it only indirectly pertains to saving trees, 2)because it is too complex an issue to reduce into sound bites, and, 3)because the mainstream press probably doesn't understand that we are making anarchy work.

So instead of waiting for jour-

So instead of waiting for journalism to come to figure out why its good to "smash the state," I'm going to say a few things about anarchy in the forest. Anarchism is the belief that society can be rearranged in such a way that authority and coercion no longer exist, or are minimalized. We need to lessen authority and coercion in order to live fulfilling, healthy lives.

nalism to come to figure out why it's good to "smash the state," I'm going to say a few things about anarchy in the forest. Anarchism is the belief that society can be rearranged in such a way that authority and coercion no longer exist, or are minimalized. We need to lessen authority and coercion in order to live fulfilling, healthy lives.

One thing that sets many anarchists apart from other revolutionaries is the belief that the revolution is not a grand apocalyptic moment that we must wait for. The revolution exists in every moment of our lives. When I get up in the morning and spend my day deliberately doing things that please me, when I strive to live instead of merely existing, that is the revolution happening.

Because revolution exists in the present, not in some mythic possible future, it is crucial that anarchists establish autonomous communities and start figuring out how to live on our own terms now. Fall Creek is such a place. The tree village has no leaders, no bosses. No one is in charge, calling the shots everything we construct (treesits, road blockades) goes up as a result of the collective effort of many people. No one person has more of a say about what we should do than anyone else. Instead we all throw in our input, building on each other's ideas, making sure that everyone present agrees with decisions we make. (In case you were wondering we don't actually go through formal consensus process. Things in the woods are way too chaotic for that; and besides this is Red Cloud Thunder, not a Save the Redwoods Campaign!)

Having lived in the forest for a decent amount of time, I would like to say that our little anarchist community is a wonderful thing. Years ago I started exposing myself to anarchist ideas and, at the time, my main thoughts on the subject were, "Sounds great, but would it (anarchy) actually work in the real world." Now, having lived in a tree without authority or coercion, I feel I can safely say, "Yes, anarchy does work!"

"A plea for the Ancient Forest" comes from *Red Cloud Thunder*. To send donations to the treesitters make checks to: Red Cloud Thunder (PO Box 11122, Eugene, OR 97440). They also have a website at: www.efn.org/~redcloud.



News in Brief

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cause it featured an interview with Larry Bensky who was invited to discuss his firing, the Sawaya dismissal, and the overlying issues of Pacifica accountability.

"As a show concerned with censorship, CounterSpin relies on the atmosphere of openness and critical thinking provided by non-commercial radio," says CounterSpin producer and host Janine Jackson. "It would be a distressing commentary on the state of free speech at the Pacifica network if CounterSpin was pulled from their airwaves for doing just the kind of work we've always done, raising the kinds of questions we regularly raise about media."

The same broadcast was halted in-progress by the Washington D.C.-based affiliate, WPFW. WPFW aired the first CounterSpin segment on media coverage of the use of depleted uranium weapons by NATO forces in the Balkans. The station halted the program in the middle of the Bensky interview. Listeners heard an Emergency Broadcast System announcement, followed by music, which ran for the duration of the half-hour CounterSpin program. Neither station has returned repeated calls by FAIR/CounterSpin asking for an explanation of their actions.

Barnes & Noble Calls Off Merger With Ingram

Barnes & Noble, Inc., the largest U.S. book retailer, called off its proposed merger with Ingram, the largest U.S. wholesaler, after reports of opposition from anti-trust regulators. In separate press releases, both companies said they worried that a prolonged review by the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) would hurt their businesses.

"The events of the last several days have made it clear that some (FTC) staff hold an outdated view of the marketplace, making an objective analysis of the transaction impossible," said Ingram Book Group chairman John R. Ingram.

The deal has been under fire ever since the companies announced their merger plans. Critics said this would give Barnes & Noble an unfair advantage over independent bookstores and discourage Ingram from distributing books that don't have mass commercial appeal.

The American Booksellers Association and the Authors Guild, both vehemently opposed to the merger, hailed the announcement.

Bits & Pieces

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dalize upscale restaurants and yuppie cars such as sports utility vehicles (SUVs) by keying them and slashing their tires. The flyers called for vandals to "be creative, take action, don't get caught." Keating was arrested and charged with making terrorist threats and malicious misconduct in connection with the flyers. The police also went to Keating's apartment and confiscated dozens of books, computer disks, tapes and writings related to anarchism, communism and revolution. Activists rallying to Keating's defense are angry about the "yuppie carpetbaggers" who want to turn the Mission into a collection of upscale businesses and expensive loft and condo complexes — spaces that will displace mostly long-time working-class and poor residents. And now the yuppies, who thought nothing of ignoring the concerns of long-time residents and treating the Mission district as their personal little playgrounds, are whining because some residents aren't properly welcoming the yuppie invasion. Die Yuppie Scum.

THIS MODERN WORLD

by TOM TOMORROW

SINCE THE SHOOTING OF AMADOU DIALLO, POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS HAVE BEEN FRAYED IN NEW YORK CITY... CIVILIANS HAVE PROTESTED THE SHOOTING--WHILE POLICE HAVE DEMONSTRATED AGAINST THE PROTESTS...



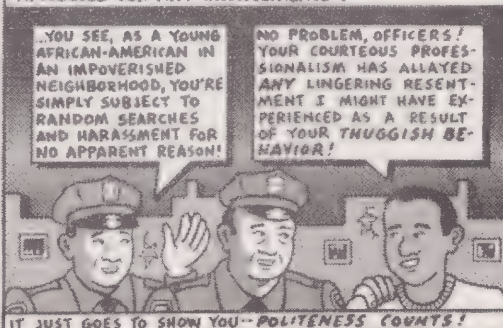
AS IF THAT WEREN'T ENOUGH, N.Y.C. POLICE HAVE ALSO BEEN ISSUED WALLET-SIZED COURTESY CARDS--INSTRUCTING THEM TO ADDRESS CITIZENS WITH WHOM THEY INTERACT IN AN APPROPRIATELY POLITE MANNER!



FORTUNATELY, MAYOR GIULIANI HAS TAKEN BOLD, DECISIVE ACTION IN THE MATTER--BY ORDERING POLICE OFFICERS TO BE MORE COURTEOUS TO THE PUBLIC!



THE CARDS ALSO INSTRUCT OFFICERS TO "EXPLAIN TO THE PUBLIC IN A COURTEOUS, PROFESSIONAL DEMEANOR THE REASON FOR YOUR INTERACTION WITH THEM"--AND TO "APOLOGIZE FOR ANY INCONVENIENCE!"



Like Father, Like Son

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vidual whose English patriotism irrevocably divides him from authentic enemies of capitalism. If Orwell ratted out his political opponents to a British Intelligence agent, then his actions were almost as contemptible and vile as Claud Cockburn's public relations work for the murder of working class revolutionaries by Stalinists in Republican Spain. There is no qualitative difference between Orwell's alleged snitching and Claud Cockburn's murderous lies.

-Kevin Keating

The full text of the war crimes charges against Bill Clinton and other NATO leaders can be found online at:
www.infoshop.org/complaint.html

Midwestern Anarchists Speak Out!



Passionate and Dangerous is a recent compilation of "conversations with Midwestern Anti-Authoritarians and Anarchists." The zine interviews anarchists active in St. Louis, Chicago, Tennessee, Columbia, Bloomington, and one unknown location. These anarchists are involved in some exciting practical projects. Copies are available for \$4 ppd. from Passionate and Dangerous, POB 63232, St. Louis, MO 63163

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SPRING/SUMMER 1999

AMY

FREE RADIO MEMPHIS
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Mark: Amy, how and when did Free Radio Memphis 94.7 FM start?

Amy: We got the equipment in '95 right after the 9th Court judge refused to grant the FCC injunction against Steven Dunifer and Free Radio Berkeley. There was the creation of this time period when it was questionable as to how micro-powered broadcasting was to be regulated. Denny sent away for the equipment: "OK, I've got all this pirate radio equipment who wants to give me money to help pay for it?" The transmitter was broken. It sat in our office space for about a year. The cat slept on it. In August, 96 the transmitter was fixed and we began broadcasting. They had already formed as the Constructive Interference Collective. "Constructive interference" is a technical term for something that happens with radio waves. We thought, "Oh, that's cute!"

Mark: Have you had DJs on the air for 24 hours a day?

Amy: We've never had enough DJs to do that. Our official hours to have DJs at the DeCleyre Coop house are 7 to midnight. We have a 50 disc changer for other times. It took the wind out of our sails to shut down to move to this new location at the DeCleyre coop. But we have this Fall Rush planned: a big fire and 'FRM' in Greek-style letters. Everyone is supposed to bring ties and button down shirts to the meeting so we can have pictures of us taken looking seriously at the camera.

Mark: How many watts is your station?

Amy: 20.

Mark: What's the radius of your signal?

Amy: It's like 2 to 5 miles depending on where you are in relation to the trees

around the house. We were thinking we would put the antennae up in one of the trees. When the FCC came to confiscate the equipment they would have to climb a tree to get it down.

Mark: *You could build a tree house! So what's your news program about?*

Amy: It's a daily news program that I do live at 7 am and the tape is played again at 5pm. Denny downloads information, and I turn it into something that I can make sense of and read over the air. I don't watch TV, and my car stereo got stolen out of my car so I don't have other sources of information. All things considered, it's really nice to have this information to broadcast. Usually we get the information the day of, so it's really timely. Recently, I read about an October delegation going to Chiapas and an Earth First! conference in Cedar Hill.

Mark: *So how do you think this fits into a broader social movement such as creating your own media?*

Amy: In terms of our specific station, we deliberately refer to ourselves as micropower broadcasting rather than pirate radio because we aren't interested in "pirates come in and break the law."

Memphis is a difficult city. The South is a difficult area. There are some very unique challenges to doing activism in Memphis that I just don't see as being problems in the Northeast. We are faced with a lot more conservatism. The hegemonic way in which people go about assembling information around here is different than up North. Not that people don't want to hear, but they aren't equipped with critical thinking skills. It's more of an issue in the south. People aren't used to challenging the government or centralization in the same way.

You don't want to offend people before you get a chance to

communicate with them. If you've tried to communicate and it just doesn't work, please offend them all you want. Make fun of them. For the most part people around here are pretty good people. It's not like everyone is classist or racist. Most people are ok. They don't think about stuff, and their information is from standard media sources. I was talking to some people at the Institute for Social Ecology telling them, "We've been organizing in Memphis and it doesn't seem like we've gotten anywhere. I've discovered this to be false because we do have a stable and growing activist community here, but I can't say that we organized this demonstration and all these thousands of people showed up. I asked them, "What are we doing wrong?" They gave me stories of what we could try but they were all stories from liberal cities, Portland, Berkeley. Tell me about Atlanta, Birmingham! Eventually we concluded it just takes a long time and we are operating on that principle.

So with the radio station we've tried to keep it small. Keep it non-threatening. It's not to say that we censor any of our broadcasting—I think our programming is as radical as any you'd hear on any pirate station. Rather, all of our publicity is very genial. Our logo is a couple of kids and images of community. We repeatedly project to the public that we want people to come in and do community stuff.

Mark: *You don't say "Smash the State." You say, "Let's talk about government."*

Amy: Some people say, "smash the state" but we don't put it on the flyers. The community station asks for money, fundraising. They do a lot of local programming but there are a lot of folks feeling disillusioned with them. It's like NPR. For the most part it's the standard corporate media. We like to see ourselves as a "voice for the community" and another form of information.

Mark: *What are some of the other exciting shows on FRM?*

Amy: Sundays are really fun because we have back to back talk shows. It starts off with one person who does stream of consciousness analysis that's wonderful. He integrates botany, biology, and politics and history. And that's followed by Ray G, who does an anti-religion show while playing gospel music. It's followed by the atheism hour, "Atheism Unbound." DJ Red does a show called the "Estrogen Bomb," which is all women's music. And that's followed by the "Lit Bomb," which is readings from women's zines. "Lit" as in "literature" and also implying "on fire." I do a do-it-yourself health show which covers herbal medicine, alternative healing, and how to make your own menstrual rags. There's an IWW show: "Solidarity Forever!" Kiern does "The History You Never Hear." We have a couple of hip-hop shows but don't have a lot that integrates the black community as much as we'd like. We'd love a Calypso show. One punk has over 10,000 records and does an amazing 2-hour international



Amy, Free Radio Memphis

punk and hardcore show with “that was blah-blah from Holland and now we’re going to hear blah-blah from the Czech Republic and before that was blah-blah from Japan.”

Mark: *The FCC has harassed you because you’re not following their regulations—a minimum 100 watts and licensing.*

Amy: They keep hitting our website. Recently they delivered us a form letter: “What you’re doing is illegal. Stop.” The color copy letter flattered me. But our equipment has never been seized. The nearest field office is Atlanta, a 12-hour drive, whereas in Philadelphia where Radio Mutiny was broadcasting the field office was a 30-minute drive. So distance has something to do with the FCC’s lack of physical harassment. And a lot has to do with the apathy of the South. How many people are listening to us in the first place or would even support the FCC or local police to do something about it?

Mark: *When the FCC official visited, he wouldn’t leave. You had to ask him to.*

Amy: He was just hanging around. Julie asked him, “Are you going to leave?” Later he did.

Mark: *You all operate as a collective.*

Amy: We have a really great collective and get along really well. We actually make time for emotional issues. We don’t ignore it. A lot of the men in the group tend to repeat things: you can’t just say, “I agree.” You have to reframe it in your own words. So we made a policy that it’s ok to say, “Excuse me you’re just repeating what this person just said.” Usually in groups you have to sit there and be polite or people just get up and walk out. We have that space for a certain degree of self-work to go on improving our ability to communicate with one another.

We had this one guy involved convinced about the coming “Armageddon”; in the South you meet these bible-beating types. Like environmentalists who believe that God has given us the Earth for “stewardship.” Nature Theology.

Mark: *I’m sure that involves fetuses too.*

Amy: The local animal rights group is all anti-choice. There’s this 15-year old—a couple who are convinced they are going to be monogamous forever—they’ve never had sex. Abortion is wrong. Women’s reproductive rights are wrong...why don’t you just bring out the Bible?

Mark: *What if the FCC returns?*

Amy: There’s a buzzer in the studio that rings in the house. We tell guest DJs if someone knocks on the door, don’t let them in because we don’t want the guest DJ to be stuck being responsible. FCC has been making threats that whoever is at the transmitter would be the person who the fine is issued against. But if they start fining people for microbroadcasting, they’ll be actually

Mark: *How do you translate your anarchist ideals into your own life?*

Amy: On the personal level, in the process of my own self-development that resulted in my interest in anarchy and deciding I really wanted to integrate it into my life, I found that the capitalist economy creates a society that limits people’s ability to truly become who they actually can be. I recognized I was hitting a lot of blocks in terms of my own peace of mind in being who I am. These blocks were fabricated and created due to the pattern of human constructs that maintain capitalism. In rejecting that in order to make a space for myself to be who I want to be, I found anarchy. I don’t think most people want to be selfish or competitive or aggressive. I don’t think they are interested in working all the time and on the weekends. Rejecting all that and looking at all the alternatives what do you have left? Anarchy. Fundamental to me is a really tremendous degree of respect and taking care of one another and what is around you, not just material possessions but animals and plants and other humans. I find that a lot of my thinking comes from this: is what I’m doing really taking care of other people; Is this really healthy? Looking at that, I critique everything else around me. Watching the way the radio collective originally operated is why we started talking about the need to talk about the emotional issues that would come up because it just wasn’t healthy to say, “Let’s get the work done so we can get on with the rest of our day.” Just how much of that is anarchy? That’s a capitalist lifestyle if I’ve ever seen one. Just how many activists I meet that are just killing themselves to get that demonstration together! If you are really critiquing the system, then why are you leading the lifestyle of the system? Why do you have the competitiveness, the stress, the lack of care that is advocated by capitalism. That is an important foundation principle that I look at for myself and what’s going around me. I like to work a lot, but I don’t work to the point of abuse, and I don’t put the work before myself or before others.

opening up a legal case, a space for it to be debated as a free speech issue. So right now all they are doing is taking people’s equipment which is why FRM has the sub-contract from the coop house. The studio is not actually legally part of the house. Different mail box, separate part of the house. The ACLU in Tennessee said they might take on our case if the FCC does something. They can’t harm us or touch the house. The only thing they could do is confiscate the equipment. Even then we have a backup plan.

Mark: *It’s such an ambitious project.*

Amy: Micropowered radio is fun! I wish every city had one. It’s such a great way to get out information. Radio activism brings people together. In terms of building community, where’s the public space for people to get together? Doing radio makes that space.

Peter Werbe

"Fifth Estate"

Detroit, MI

Rich: In our interviews, we've found some anarchists in the upper Midwest (the Rust Belt area) who are using the leftover resources in urban areas. We'd like to see this as a positive thing, people are making use of somewhat abandoned stuff-buildings, land.

Peter: Those of us at the *Fifth Estate* aren't doing too much of that. For the most part, our living patterns are fairly conventional. The best example in Detroit is the two-house project at the Trumbull Theatre. There is a benefit to living in an old Rust Belt city like Detroit. It's much easier to establish what Hakim Bey calls "Permanent Autonomous Zones," because of cheap rent and low property values. The *Fifth Estate* office, for instance, only pays \$200 a month including all utilities, and the Trumbull property which includes the two houses and a theater for about \$30,000.

Mark: Do you think the situation where people are buying and rehabbing houses, such as ones marginalized anarchists have access to, has potential within the *Fifth Estate's* concept of "abolishing civilization" and your critique of technology?

Peter: I don't think I would put such grandiose pronouncements on communal living. However, historically, people have had convivial, communal living arrangements within the context of radical movements, particularly younger people before they establish families. The larger the movement, the more people are involved in such activities such as in the 1960s. If its only attraction is cheaper rent than conventional forms of housing then it's only like co-op housing at universities. Anything that steps outside the normal definitions of capitalist society (and the whole idea of communal living flies in the face of that), I think is positive. Capitalism depends on atomization.

Widespread communal living generally comes about when a movement has reached a certain level of coherence. In certain areas, often adjacent to universities or historically bohemian districts, some people say, "Hey, we all have similar ideas, we like the same music, go to the same demos, we ought to have a communal household that expresses in day-to-day life our values—sharing, the economy of the gift rather than the commodity (although this is usually implied rather than explicitly stated), consensus decision-making." These living arrangements then easily

become the locus of political action because of the number of revolutionaries grouped together. Activism becomes integrated into life from the moment of awakening rather than going to it like a job.

Mark: From a theoretical perspective, what are some ideas that you've been considering lately?

Peter: The last few years have been sobering. A certain humility has crept into our thinking and way of life. It doesn't look like much of what we advocate is on the agenda. The machine rules everywhere. We are in a period of the total domination of capital where even the pseudo-opposition of socialism has left the scene—capital's major 20th century rival. There is no more terra incognita. There is no longer any significant area, geography and thought that technology and capital hasn't extended itself into.

Calls, such as the one which appears on the masthead of the *Green Anarchist* saying, "For the Destruction of Civilization," sound shrill and incoherent at best, and, I'm sure nihilistic to most readers not steeped in their ideology. I'm not saying we should step away from radical critiques of capital and technology, but increasingly we're being forced into rearguard actions whose demands step away from the totality and sound more like, Please don't kill everything so fast."

The idea that because we at the *Fifth Estate* make critiques of technologized capital doesn't mean that we can escape the consequences we describe. We are at a critical point now trying to preserve those ideas which are at risk from being pushed from human consciousness. The Appendix to Orwell's wonderful dystopian novel, *1984*, is instructive. The idea of Newspeak was to remove words from language and thus the ideas they represent. I see our projects and journals as repositories of anti-authoritarian ideas that include an understanding that technology as manifested under industrial capitalism is a major factor in the domination of the human spirit.

Mark: When you say "humility" do you mean that you have opened up or softened your views?

Peter: It doesn't mean I'm going to buy an electric steak knife! At one level, the world is as depressing as it always has been, but that's not to say we can't find elements of joy in our resistance and within an alternative culture we build around it.

At the same time, we have to recognize we are in a precarious position. We are in a biological, social and spiritual (and I don't mean religious which I don't care about) decline. There's nothing left to hang our hats on that has substance. But people retain something in spite of this, even those immersed in the spectacle and



commodity society. An inherent sociobiology rooted in our basic humanity manifests itself in our wanting to be communal figures like we were for 90 percent of human existence on the planet, even in things that may appear as dumb as a bowling league or a Star Trek convention. People want to do things together that are affirming and convivial no matter how much the culture of capital tries to domesticate us. We've been domesticated by the state; we've been domesticated by capital; we've been domesticated by technology, but there's a million instances where people act contrary to that. But people could forget how to do it. As it is, the Star Trek convention holds no capacity to effectively confront our domestication. Worse examples, such as rooting for sports teams or worse, wars, take the impulses of communality and manipulates them for commodity consumption or the needs of the imperial state.

That's why it's critically important for us to continue our projects on the margins of this society, even if it looks absolutely hopeless. For one thing, if we want to live out our lives as distant as possible from the dominant society, we better work hard to create an alternative culture and communities, hopefully ones that have the potential to eventually confront the dominant paradigms that currently rule us.

Mark: *So, there is some ray of hope?*

Peter: I don't think we can live without it. We continue to fight against the worst excesses of technology and the empire and we hope that something will occur—some incident or some sense of what the futility and harm of this world does to everything and everybody will impel people to move in a direction that reasserts human community and our own humanity. Maybe it will happen; maybe it won't. A Leninist will scoff at what they would consider this lack of vision for how to achieve revolution, and will propose any number of strategies for the "people" or the "workers," but won't end up any better than we do.

Mark: *Does distant human history offer any guidance?*

"Anarchy is natural; everything else is learned," I've heard said; and the cooperative forms that nurtured every form of pre-historical, pre-state, pre-technological society gave them the capacity to exist. In that sense, you can "prove" that anarchism is a clumsy way of enunciating the 'Old Ways' as poet Gary Snyder calls them—ancient wisdom and sensibilities about how to live

on the planet and with each other. This doesn't mean, as dishonest opponents of this perspective have charged (and that includes not only Murray Bookchin, but Noam Chomsky, as well), that I or we or the *Fifth Estate* are advocating "going back to the caves."

It means looking at the ideas that were operative in societies that did much better than us in living their lives. I think for our bioregion, the Ottawas, for instance, had a society where the major aspects of social and personal relationships were worthy of emulation. The culture brought here by the European invaders was a disaster for both the carriers of it as well as their victims. Unfortunately, we are the inheritors of that culture which is a planet eater and not the one which knew how to live in harmony with the earth.

The task of resurrecting the Old Ways as a basis for a new world is challenging, but also rewarding. Actually, we have no other choice if we have any hopes for our children and the future of the planet.



Peter Werbe outside April 1990 \$1,000-a-plate Republican fundraiser in Dearborn, Michigan featuring George Bush. Millard Berry photo.

Keith McHenry

Mark: Tell us a little about Food Not Bombs (FNB).

Keith: I'm one of the co-founders of Food Not Bombs. There were eight of us in 1980 that started the group. We came out of the Clamshell Alliance. The Clamshell Alliance was trying to shut down Seabrook Nuclear Power Plant, and it was a collection of mostly anarchists but also included Quakers and the Red Clams, who were socialists.

Keith explained at length the beginnings of Food Not Bombs. One of the early inspirational events was a street theater against the First National Bank in Boston whose directors were tied to the nuclear arms industry.

As part of the theater, they invited homeless from a shelter to a 30's style soup line in depression style costumes. "Your banking policies will cause economic collapse like the Great Depression."

Keith: It was really inspiring. So we all quit our jobs. We started this collective house called Food Not Bombs. To finance the thing, we were trying to sell mushrooms and pot. That was really intense. Some people suggested we sell cocaine. But we discovered cocaine was something the contras were using, so we thought for political reasons we would not get into it. We thought in 1980 cocaine was a safe non-addictive drug. But we know now that's crazy.

Mark: So then FNB really took hold nationally.

Keith: For the first 8 years there was only Boston FNB. We had about 3 different houses. Everything came from garbage. Recycled food. Recycled cameras. We made massive plays and graffiti.

As you were mentioning, it did grow. I got chased out of Boston protesting the eviction of people in the wake of the World Series in 1986. I started a second group in San Francisco. And that group got arrested on August 15, 1988. These arrests started this whole series of arrests and there were ultimately over 1,000 arrests in San Francisco for serving free food. Every time there was a wave of arrests, there would be more FNB chapters started. Now there's over 200 chapters, probably, worldwide.

Autonomous anti-authoritarian groups are growing rapidly worldwide. It's great that people are starting to understand that it's arbitrary that banks and wealthy people own property. Many people around the world realize that's ridiculous. We allow them to pull that over on us. That way of social order is as arbitrary as any other.

Mark: Tell me about Food Not Bombs activists.

Keith: When you come into a town, you can pick out the FNB activists. There's a certain energy among the people doing FNB. They're really doing something. They've had to solve a lot of problems. Logistical problems. There's kind of this pride, this energy, that we can do things. The lack of hierarchy is really evident between FNB and the people on the streets. The intermingling at our food sharings is totally different from the traditional church soup line.

Rich: St. Louis is a relatively empty city with a lot of decaying housing that is abandoned or empty. You can buy a house here for less than a car—less than \$7,000.

Keith: You could sell 3 pounds of pot and buy a house! When I come to St. Louis, I always think, "This is squatter's heaven." The buildings are really cool old brick buildings. They would be really nice to live in. Lots

of tree-lined streets. And there are 1,000s of abandoned buildings. Why doesn't every single anarchist in the world show up here? You could have 40,000 or 50,000 people living here for free with their own apartments. The thing is that this town is very similar to Philadelphia. In Philadelphia they really do have whole neighborhoods of anarchists living together, squatting. No one's paying rent. The government is trying to co-opt that. The sheriff will come by and put the house up for auction. They let the squatters have first option to bid on the house, and then own it. A big debate, at least the last time I was in Philadelphia, was: "Should we bid on the houses and then physically own them and pay money on them or is that dooming us to becoming part of the economic system?" Or should we have this stance: "No, this is our house. Now. And we don't need to be paying money and have a title."

Mark: Some people talk about land trusts.

Keith: And some squatters talk about it as if that is also taking part in capitalism at some level. And there is also the hardcore idea that the land can't be bought or sold—it needn't be that formal (i.e. have a title) at all. But others say you'll get evicted or driven



Keith McHenry, Food Not Bombs

out after you've invested a lot of time and money fixing-up an old house that somebody else will claim is theirs and go to the cops to force you out. But in a way it's wierd that there isn't this movement of all the people that are having a difficult time everywhere from San Francisco to St. Louis. The capitalists have given up on this city. So you could have a whole squatters trip and have pirate radio stations and grow food...

Mark: If you lived in St. Louis and were in our position, and houses were really cheap and it would be easy to squat or buy a house what would you be doing?

Keith: Trying to get more people to come here. Part of the problem is that you really don't have enough critical mass to buy and sell amongst yourselves. If you had another 20,000 people here, that were squatting all these buildings...

Rich: Or even 200.

Keith: We need a strategy. Maybe it's an issue that we need to get more people from St. Louis to squat and organize St. Louis. That's one strategy. When we were in Winnipeg, Canada, they were saying they're living in a police state. Maybe they should get all the anarchists to move to Winnipeg and take over Winnipeg and have it be this giant anarchist town.

Rich: It's too cold.

Keith: They were telling me that during an ice storm! And I'm thinking, "I don't want to move to Winnipeg." I was in Chicago and only 4 anarchists came to the FNB/IMF show, and 6 others from other cities were there. We talked to these Mexican-American organizers and we talked to these Puerto Rican organizers. We found the Puerto Rican organizers didn't know the Mexican-American organizers and the Puerto Rican organizers didn't know the organizers from the anarchist community. None of those communities worked together and did stuff.

Mark: Is there a lot more overlap in San Francisco?

Keith: In San Francisco we have a big effort to unite all races and movements. Communists or anarchists, Black, Latino, immigrant rights. I spend all this time attending all the other groups' meetings. I try to unite everyone. I try to develop friendships with the Black Panthers, La Raza people.

Mark: Networking is important...

Keith: A lot of people were jealous of our Oct. 22, 1997 Days of Action Against Police Brutality protest in San Francisco. We had

the largest protest in the US. We had over 1000 people. That's because we do the amount of networking to get people to really come to each other's events.

There are really two tendencies in the anarchist movement. Anarchists, who work only with other anarchists, and know about syndicalism and the IWW, which is growing and it's a really good thing. The other group approaches people outside our culture. The TV culture is revolting. The whole US culture is sickening pathology. We have to overcome our disgust of this and somehow link up with people who shop. And watch TV. People who only know about celebrity politics. We have to be able to talk to Democrats and Republicans. But more so since they are a minority. I think there are 30 to 40 Democrats in San Francisco, but they're the only ones in power. Every meeting you go to has 5 people. The anarchists outnumber the Democrats 20 to 1. (laughs)



We have to connect with people. My personal strategy is getting literature tables out in the streets in areas with multiple classes and different political backgrounds and races. And standing there with a table that says "Food Not Bombs." Not having pamphlets saying 'anarchism' all over them. But having "we organize by consensus. We don't have a hierarchy. We are not going to force you to do something. We are against coercion." We say all the things about what anarchy is but we do not say, "We are anarchists: you gotta do our trip our way." It's more important that people reject hierarchy in decision-making and work collectively. The attributes of anarchy are the best possible way to organize society. We need to build somehow. We need to get out into the shopping malls.

Rich: How?

Keith: You could start a Homes Not Jails group and take over empty buildings and occupy them to demonstrate housing problems. You could serve breakfast at the courthouse every first Monday of the month and give out free literature with coffee. Or watch the news and get a hold of families who had a relative shot by police. Tell them about the police brutality coalition.

Mark: How do you translate day to day activities to long term political change?

Keith: One of the biggest challenges we face is: people in the low-income communities aspire to become wealthy. We gotta break that down. That's not any kind of goal. That goal encourages your own personal slavery. One way is to connect with people who are organizing around different issues. For instance talking

to people in public housing when it's being demolished. Propaganda: we can't underestimate the power of gluing posters all over the city denouncing corporations and the government. If you have your literature tables, posters all over, graffiti and flyers taped to windows that talk about the cruelty and viciousness of corporations and about the myth of democracy, you're doing a lot.

People used to believe in the idea of democracy even if they thought it was a scam. But now we're at a point where people are forgetting the very idea of self-rule and local political control. We are abdicating all power to a board of directors voted into office by stockholders who have complete power over all aspects of political life. And this is beginning to seem normal for lots of people all over the world. If we're going to change this, we have to have literature that is very clear and easy to understand and videos on street corners. Everything needs to be fun. Puppets. Beautiful things. Theatrical events on the streets. Getting lots of people to arrive in one place and doing something extravagant that catches people's attention.

BILL & TONY

Autonomous Zone Infoshop

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

James Mumm: Why did you get involved (help start) in an Infoshop? Where does it fit into your strategy for revolution?

Bill: I was involved in all of the four Azone spaces, but got fully involved in the third space. I was in SDS and Weatherman for a short time those groups were based on a lot of theory and talk. I didn't see many institutions being built, although a lot of action of an illegal nature took place. I didn't have the experiences of having a free space back then. I saw the infoshop movement as something tangible, very different from other anarchists in Chicago that simply put out fliers and had discussions. I was very excited about the idea of having a space where people can come together and have community.

Tony: I wanted to have a physical space that people could come to and get familiar with anarchist ideas—a small place where people could have solidarity with each other. That solidarity feels more real because of the physical space. The Azone is an attempt to set up the community that you would like to see in larger society—non-hierarchical relationships, appreciation of the individuals involved and a real respect for people. Community can be a focal point for resources that you can share. By working collectively we are experimenting with running our lives collectively. Our experience proves that you don't need bosses to organize society. Our work here is a small example of what can be done without hierarchical relationships.

Bill: The infoshop movement has a historical continuity with the anteneos (workers centers) in Spain. My strategy for revolution

starts with building concrete institutions based on peoples' needs (food, shelter, info, etc.). Infoshops can meet some of those needs. A lot of people don't like to go to meetings, but they do enjoy building culture together concrete, real activity. When you have a space that can offer that sense, it can bring people together—just look at churches. Infoshops offer a community base for people. This doesn't mean you don't build for revolution in other ways. Infoshops are just one part of a revolutionary strategy. There must also be outreach beyond the infoshop, community organizing, health collectives, alternative schools, etc. Infoshops are simply the easiest to get off the ground, in large part because you don't need special expertise. Just get a space, get some books, and have a willingness to talk and be with people. Those are the first steps in the right direction.

Tony: Infoshops are important as a primary way of educating people about anarchism. The biggest thing that anarchists should be concerned with is solidarity with working class folks and bringing middle class people to a class-conscious perspective. Just because you were born into the middle class doesn't mean you can't reject the middle class—reject the value system and become conscious of the nature of oppression. This brings an awareness of the root causes of suffering. We're here to show that you can do things without using oppressive hierarchical structures to get things done. Together with infoshops and other alternative institutions, there has to be an emphasis on oppositional politics.

Bill: An infoshop is a space in which people can relate to each other in a way that they can't anywhere else. This has an impact on people's everyday lives (family, work, etc.), through relating to each other in a consensus way. At the Azone we work in common on issues and problems. This space allows people to address issues that are a part of their everyday lives in a new way. This is revolutionary.

Tony: A working class focus doesn't mean you ignore race, gender, sexuality, etc, when analyzing oppression. We're building class consciousness in the working class, class traitors in the middle class, and throughout dealing with identity issues so that those issues do not become a stumbling block to class action and the ability of people to run society in a non-hierarchical manner.

Bill: Infoshops exist to create social revolution. The key is in the nature of our social relationships—how we relate to each other, how we relate in groups, how we meet our material needs, etc. All mainstream institutions are hierarchical, infoshops move be-



yond them by offering a place to get information, practice new social relationships, and then carry the experience to anti-authoritarian relationships beyond the space. How do you build consensus? How is the debate framed? How do you change the environment in order to change the relationships? Consensus process can be used as an organizing tool that alters peoples' way of behaving from authoritarian to anti-authoritarian.

James: How has your Infoshop evolved since it began? How is it run? How has all that changed over time?

Bill: On a biological level, we have a smaller toilet than ever before.

Tony: I've been involved at the Azone for two years. We have made a real attempt to make this new space [the Azone's fourth] a very nice place to be. We're trying to be accessible to a broader range of people. People have, and rightfully so, biases against peeling paint and dirt, messy, filthy, sloppy—apparently disorganized spaces. So we're now experimenting with being aesthetically accessible. There are currently ten people in the Azone collective, all volunteer.

Bill: There are historic problems with anarchism being deliberately misunderstood and misrepresented as unstructured, so spontaneous that people do whatever they want whenever they want. Makhno's more centralized organizational structure leads to greater organizational discipline. We can build a culture in the anarchist movement that has structure, consensus and responsibility. Consensus process empowers people because of the equal responsibility to give and take. When people understand that they have a responsibility to themselves and other people it creates a value structure that builds self-discipline. Such discipline does not have to come from people who are seen as leaders. Discipline is something we share with each other—recognizing that answers can come from the people who are quiet or slow. This is the third way.

James: Who is your membership?

Tony: We currently have a fairly decent level of diversity, unusual in the anarchist

or punk movements. There are 2 African-Americans, 1 Latino, 2 Polish immigrants, and 2 people over 55. The average age at our last meeting was 40, ranging from 18 to 63. There are queer and bisexual people, although we do need more women involved.

Bill: The women that have stayed involved are strong, articulate, aggressive women.

Tony: I felt there was a greater egalitarian element a few months ago, but that dwindled away recently. I have come to realize that shifting leadership is okay. I would like to see a more participatory group.

Bill: We need to find a way to do away with informal hierarchy. The Azone has had a core of leadership since the very beginning. Mainstream society conditions us to accept relationships that reinforce hierarchy. In order to equalize power, people need opportunities to participate fully in groups. The Azone uses a consensus process, but what does that mean in terms of taking a role in a meeting? The goal of consensus is everybody facilitating the meeting together.

James: Who are your constituents?

Tony: The Azone started off closely tied to anarcho-punk culture, but now that element isn't as strong. Lately though we've been tabling at Los Crudos shows, so we've actually been getting back into it a bit. Many of our current collective members wouldn't go to a punk show. We have a broader representation of society than ever before. Our constituents are people who know people in the Azone. We get some random people in to the space, and a lot of travelers. Many people know about the Azone because of its connection to the broader infoshop movement. There is still a strong counter-cultural youth element. We need to have more folks coming in. In order for more people to be a part of the Azone, it needs to relate to their agenda.

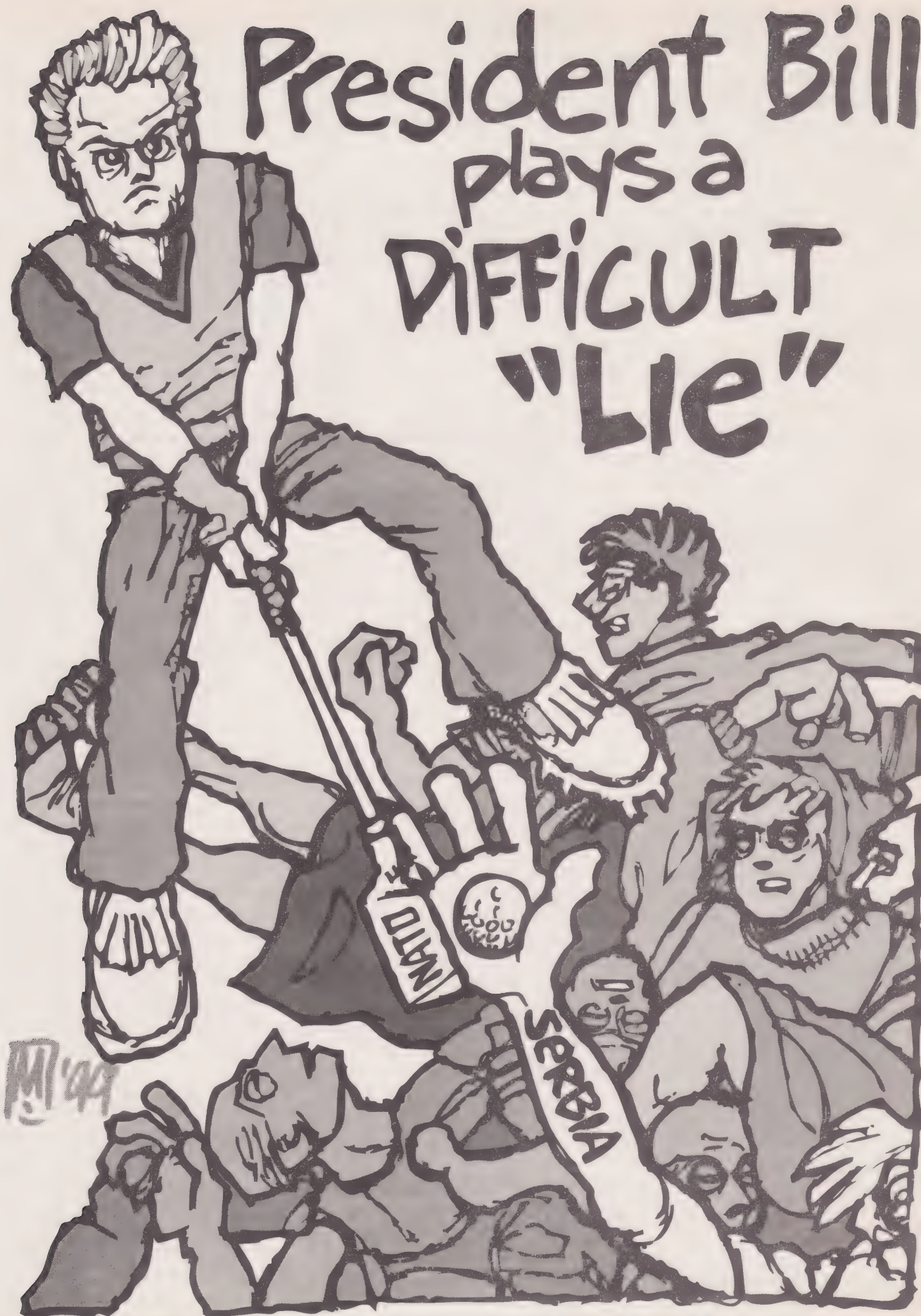
Bill: We now have a greater ability for people to call themselves anarchists instead of anti-authoritarians or autonomists. We are reaching out to the whole city—not just the neighborhood.

In terms of relating to the people in the neighborhood, we are still doing it through other groups like the West Town Tenants Union. Vic has been talking about setting up a drop in time for tenants' rights counseling. This might be a concrete way for WTTU to use the Azone. It is necessary to fight for day to day reform, as long as you have your eyes on the prize of revolution. When you think you have everything good and don't need a revolution, then there's a problem. For example, the Spanish anarchists fought for working condition reform. They synthesized a revolutionary vision and with a practical approach to dealing with everyday problems. In order for infoshops to take on this role people need to get a lot more serious. I understand this from working at Metropolitan Tenants Organization dealing with a broad range of people: folks on public assistance, food stamps, people with subsidized housing, etc. I work with a very diverse group of people, diverse racially and economically. As anarchists we need to relate to ordinary folks. Many people see anarchism as a great idea, but unfortunately it's seen as a social club. Anarchists feel alienated and also alienate people. We have to be appealing and open to people who may eat meat, make sexist comments, act or think in other oppressive ways.

Bill: The Black Panther's breakfast program is the classic example of radical social service. Volunteer projects should be built so that others can run with them. I come from a grassroots organizing, labor organizing perspective. I first got involved as a youth outreach worker in the projects with the YMCA. The way to make anarchism a practical thing is to bring it to where people are at. You have to show people that anarchism is about food, shelter and clothing. We have to show people that our process is a different way than they are used to.

Tony: People are isolated out there, some may read *MaximumRockNRoll* on a regular basis, some may feel part of a community that makes sense to them. We can find those people and they can find us. We are definitely looking for more people to get involved. I think that our experience mirrors that of others across the country. We want the Azone to be an open and inclu-

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Mike Flugennock

The Current Bombings: Behind the Rhetoric

By Noam Chomsky

There have been many inquiries concerning NATO (meaning primarily US) bombing in connection with Kosovo. A great deal has been written about the topic, including *Znet* commentaries. I'd like to make a few general observations, keeping to facts that are not seriously contested.

There are two fundamental issues: (1) What are the accepted and applicable "rules of world order"? (2) How do these or other considerations apply in the case of Kosovo?

(1) What are the accepted and applicable "rules of world order"?

There is a regime of international law and international order, binding on all states, based on the UN Charter and subsequent resolutions and World Court decisions. In brief, the threat or use of force is banned unless explicitly authorized by the Security Council after it has determined that peaceful means have failed, or in self-defense against "armed attack" (a narrow concept) until the Security Council acts.

There is, of course, more to say. Thus there is at least a tension, if not an outright contradiction, between the rules of world order laid down in the UN Charter and the rights articulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UD), a second pillar of the world order established under US initiative after World War II. The Charter bans force violating state sovereignty; the UD guarantees the rights of individuals against oppressive states. The issue of "humanitarian intervention" arises

"The Current Bombings – Behind the Rhetoric" examines the rhetoric and justifications for the current bombing campaign against Serbia. This essay is reprinted from Z Magazine's website (www.zmag.org). The site features extensive coverage and analysis of the Kosovo crisis. Subscriptions to Z are \$30/year from: Z, 18 Millfield Street, Woods Hole, MA 02543

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War Criminals

from this tension. It is the right of "humanitarian intervention" that is claimed by the US/NATO in Kosovo, and that is generally supported by editorial opinion and news reports (in the latter case, reflexively, even by the very choice of terminology).

The question is addressed in a news report in the *NY Times* (March 27), headlined "Legal Scholars Support Case for Using Force" in Kosovo (March 27). One example is offered: Allen Gerson, former counsel to the US mission to the UN. Two other legal scholars are cited. One, Ted Galen Carpenter, "scoffed at the Administration argument" and dismissed the alleged right of intervention. The third is Jack Goldsmith, a specialist on international law at Chicago Law school. He says that critics of the NATO bombing "have a pretty good legal argument," but "many people think [an exception for humanitarian intervention] does exist as a matter of custom and practice." That summarizes the evidence offered to justify the favored conclusion stated in the headline.

Goldsmith's observation is reasonable, at least if we agree that facts are relevant

to the determination of "custom and practice." We may also bear in mind a truism: the right of humanitarian intervention, if it exists, is premised on the "good faith" of those intervening, and that assumption is based not on their rhetoric but on their record, in particular their record of adherence to the principles of international law, World Court decisions, and so on. That is indeed a truism, at least with regard to others. Consider, for example, Iranian offers to intervene in Bosnia to prevent massacres at a time when the West would not do so. These were dismissed with ridicule (in fact, ignored); if there was a reason beyond subordination to power, it was because Iranian "good faith" could not be assumed. A rational person then asks obvious questions: is the Iranian record of intervention and terror worse than that of the US? And other questions, for example: How should we assess the "good faith" of the only country to have vetoed a Security Council resolution calling on all states to obey international law? What about its historical record? Unless such questions are prominent on the agenda of discourse, an honest

person will dismiss it as mere allegiance to doctrine. A useful exercise is to determine how much of the literature—media or other—survives such elementary conditions as these.

(2) How do these or other considerations apply in the case of Kosovo?

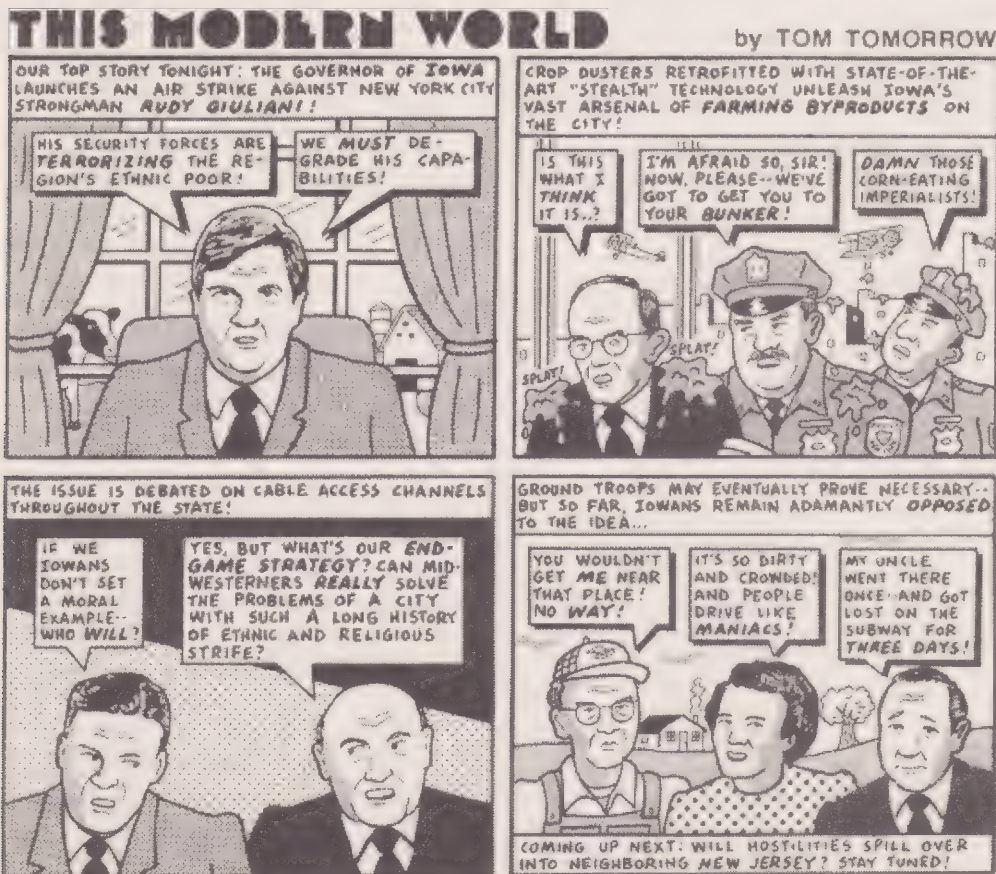
There has been a humanitarian catastrophe in Kosovo in the past year, overwhelmingly attributable to Yugoslav military forces. The main victims have been ethnic Albanian Kosovars, some 90% of the population of this Yugoslav territory. The standard estimate is 2000 deaths and hundreds of thousands of refugees.

In such cases, outsiders have three choices:

- (I) try to escalate the catastrophe
- (II) do nothing
- (III) try to mitigate the catastrophe

The choices are illustrated by other contemporary cases. Let's keep to a few of approximately the same scale, and ask where Kosovo fits into the pattern.

(A) Colombia. In Colombia, according to State Department estimates, the annual level of political killing by the government and its paramilitary associates is about at the level of Kosovo, and refugee flight primarily from their atrocities is well over a million. Colombia has been the leading Western hemisphere recipient of US arms and training as violence increased through the '90s, and that assistance is now increasing, under a "drug war" pretext dismissed by almost all serious observers. The Clinton administration was particularly enthusiastic in its praise for President Gaviria, whose tenure in office was responsible for "appalling levels of violence," according to human rights organi-



zations, even surpassing his predecessors. Details are readily available.

In this case, the US reaction is (I): escalate the atrocities.

(B) Turkey. By very conservative estimate, Turkish repression of Kurds in the '90s falls in the category of Kosovo. It peaked in the early '90s; one index is the flight of over a million Kurds from the countryside to the unofficial Kurdish capital Diyarbakir from 1990 to 1994, as the Turkish army was devastating the countryside. 1994 marked two records: it was "the year of the worst repression in the Kurdish provinces" of Turkey, Jonathan Randal reported from the scene, and the year when Turkey became "the biggest single importer of American military hardware and thus the world's largest arms purchaser." When human rights groups exposed Turkey's use of US jets to bomb villages, the Clinton Administration found ways to evade laws requiring suspension of arms deliveries, much as it was doing in Indonesia and elsewhere.

Colombia and Turkey explain their (US-supported) atrocities on grounds that they are defending their countries from the threat of terrorist guerrillas. As does the government of Yugoslavia.

Again, the example illustrates (I): try to escalate the atrocities.

(C) Laos. Every year thousands of people, mostly children and poor farmers, are killed in the Plain of Jars in Northern Laos, the scene of the heaviest bombing of civilian targets in history it appears, and arguably the most cruel: Washington's furious assault on a poor peasant society had little to do with its wars in the region. The worst period was from 1968, when Washington

was compelled to undertake negotiations (under popular and business pressure), ending the regular bombardment of North Vietnam. Kissinger-Nixon then decided to shift the planes to bombardment of Laos and Cambodia.

The deaths are from "bombies," tiny anti-personnel weapons, far worse than

The major recent academic study of "humanitarian intervention," by Sean Murphy, reviews the record after the Kellogg-Briand pact of 1928 which outlawed war, and then since the UN Charter, which strengthened and articulated these provisions. In the first phase, he writes, the most prominent examples of "humanitarian intervention" were Japan's attack on Manchuria, Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia, and Hitler's occupation of parts of Czechoslovakia. All were accompanied by highly uplifting humanitarian rhetoric, and factual justifications as well.

land-mines: they are designed specifically to kill and maim, and have no effect on trucks, buildings, etc. The Plain was saturated with hundreds of millions of these criminal devices, which have a failure-to-explode rate of 20%-30% according to the manufacturer, Honeywell. The numbers suggest either remarkably poor quality control or a rational policy of murdering civilians by delayed action. These were only a fraction of the technology deployed, including advanced missiles to penetrate caves where families sought shelter. Current annual casualties from "bombies" are estimated from hundreds a year to "an annual nationwide casualty rate of 20,000," more than half of them deaths, according to the veteran Asia reporter Barry Wain of the *Wall Street Journal*—in its Asia edition. A conservative estimate, then, is that the crisis this year is approximately comparable to Kosovo, though deaths are far more highly concentrated among children—over half, according to analyses reported by the Mennonite Central Committee, which has been working there since 1977 to alleviate the continuing atrocities.

There have been efforts to publicize and deal with the humanitarian catastrophe. A

British-based Mine Advisory Group (MAG) is trying to remove the lethal objects, but the US is "conspicuously missing from the handful of Western organisations that have followed MAG," the British press reports, though it has finally agreed to train some Laotian civilians. The British press also reports, with

some anger, the allegation of MAG specialists that the US refuses to provide them with "render harmless procedures" that would make their work "a lot quicker and a lot safer." These remain a state secret, as does the whole affair in the United States. The Bangkok press reports a very similar situation in Cambodia, particularly the Eastern region where US bombardment from early 1969 was most intense.

In this case, the US reaction is (II): do nothing. And the reaction of the media and commentators is to keep silent, following the norms under which the war against Laos was designated a "secret war"—meaning well-known, but suppressed, as also in the case of Cambodia from March 1969. The level of self-censorship was extraordinary then, as is the current phase. The relevance of this shocking example should be obvious without further comment.

I will skip other examples of (I) and (II), which abound, and also much more serious contemporary atrocities, such as the huge slaughter of Iraqi civilians by means of a particularly vicious form of biological warfare—"a very hard choice," Madeleine Albright commented on national TV in 1996 when asked for her reaction to the killing of half a million Iraqi children in 5 years, but "we think the price is worth it." Current estimates remain about 5000 children killed a month, and the price is still "worth it." These and other examples might also be kept in mind when

we read awed rhetoric about how the "moral compass" of the Clinton Administration is at last functioning properly, as the Kosovo example illustrates.

Just what does the example illustrate? The threat of NATO bombing, predictably, led to a sharp escalation of atrocities by the Serbian Army and paramilitaries, and to the departure of international observers, which of course had the same effect. Commanding General Wesley Clark declared that it was "entirely predictable" that Serbian terror and violence would intensify after the NATO bombing, exactly as happened. The terror for the first time reached the capital city of Pristina, and there are credible reports of large-scale destruction of villages, assassinations, generation of an enormous refugee flow, perhaps an effort to expel a good part of the Albanian population—all an "entirely predictable" consequence of the threat and then the use of force, as General Clark rightly observes.

Kosovo is therefore another illustration of (I): try to escalate the violence, with exactly that expectation.

To find examples illustrating (III) is all too easy, at least if we keep to official rhetoric. The major recent academic study of "humanitarian intervention," by Sean Murphy, reviews the record after the Kellogg-Briand pact of 1928 which outlawed war, and then since the UN Charter, which strengthened and articulated these provisions. In the first phase, he writes, the most prominent examples of "humanitarian intervention" were Japan's attack on Manchuria, Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia, and Hitler's occupation of parts of Czechoslovakia. All were accompanied by highly uplifting humanitarian rhetoric, and factual justifications as well. Japan was going to establish an "earthly paradise" as it defended Manchurians from "Chinese bandits," with the support of a leading Chinese nationalist, a far more credible figure than anyone the US was able to conjure up during its attack on South Vietnam. Mussolini was liberating thousands of

slaves as he carried forth the Western "civilizing mission." Hitler announced Germany's intention to end ethnic tensions and violence, and "safeguard the national individuality of the German and Czech peoples," in an operation "filled with earnest desire to serve the true interests of the peoples dwelling in the area," in accordance with their will; the Slovakian Presi-

emerging legal norms of humanitarian intervention."

Despite the desperate efforts of ideologues to prove that circles are square, there is no serious doubt that the NATO bombings further undermine what remains of the fragile structure of international law. The US made that entirely clear in the discussions leading to the NATO decision. Apart

from the UK (by now, about as much of an independent actor as the Ukraine was in the pre-Gorbachev years), NATO countries were skeptical of US policy, and were particularly annoyed by Secretary of State Albright's "saber-rattling" (Kevin Cullen, *Boston Globe*, Feb. 22). Today, the more

The main innovation of the Reagan-Clinton years is that defiance of international law and the Charter has become entirely open. It has also been backed with interesting explanations, which would be on the front pages, and prominent in the school and university curriculum, if truth and honesty were considered significant values.

dent asked Hitler to declare Slovakia a protectorate.

Another useful intellectual exercise is to compare those obscene justifications with those offered for interventions, including "humanitarian interventions," in the post-UN Charter period.

In that period, perhaps the most compelling example of (III) is the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia in December 1978, terminating Pol Pot's atrocities, which were then peaking. Vietnam pleaded the right of self-defense against armed attack, one of the few post-Charter examples when the plea is plausible: the Khmer Rouge regime (Democratic Kampuchea, DK) was carrying out murderous attacks against Vietnam in border areas. The US reaction is instructive. The press condemned the "Prussians" of Asia for their outrageous violation of international law. They were harshly punished for the crime of having terminated Pol Pot's slaughters, first by a (US-backed) Chinese invasion, then by US imposition of extremely harsh sanctions. The US recognized the expelled DK as the official government of Cambodia, because of its "continuity" with the Pol Pot regime, the State Department explained. Not too subtly, the US supported the Khmer Rouge in its continuing attacks in Cambodia.

The example tells us more about the "custom and practice" that underlies "the

closely one approaches the conflicted region, the greater the opposition to Washington's insistence on force, even within NATO (Greece and Italy). France had called for a UN Security Council resolution to authorize deployment of NATO peacekeepers. The US flatly refused, insisting on "its stand that NATO should be able to act independently of the United Nations," State Department officials explained. The US refused to permit the "neuralgic word 'authorize'" to appear in the final NATO statement, unwilling to concede any authority to the UN Charter and international law; only the word "endorse" was permitted (Jane Perlez, *NYT*, Feb. 11). Similarly the bombing of Iraq was a brazen expression of contempt for the UN, even the specific timing, and was so understood. And of course the same is true of the destruction of half the pharmaceutical production of a small African country a few months earlier, an event that also does not indicate that the "moral compass" is straying from righteousness—not to speak of a record that would be prominently reviewed right now if facts were considered relevant to determining "custom and practice."

It could be argued, rather plausibly, that further demolition of the rules of world order is irrelevant, just as it had lost its meaning by the late 1930s. The contempt

of the world's leading power for the framework of world order has become so extreme that there is nothing left to discuss. A review of the internal documentary record demonstrates that the stance traces back to the earliest days, even to the first memorandum of the newly-formed National Security Council in 1947. During the Kennedy years, the stance began to gain overt expression. The main innovation of the Reagan-Clinton years is that defiance of international law and the Charter has become entirely open. It has also been backed with interesting explanations, which would be on the front pages, and prominent in the school and university curriculum, if truth and honesty were considered significant values. The highest authorities explained with brutal clarity that the World Court, the UN, and other agencies had become irrelevant because they no longer follow US orders, as they did in the early postwar years.

One might then adopt the official position. That would be an honest stand, at least if it were accompanied by refusal to play the cynical game of self-righteous posturing and wielding of the despised principles of international law as a highly selective weapon against shifting enemies.

While the Reaganites broke new ground, under Clinton the defiance of world order has become so extreme as to be of concern even to hawkish policy analysts. In the current issue of the leading establishment journal, *Foreign Affairs*, Samuel Huntington warns that Washington is treading a dangerous course. In the eyes of much of the world—probably most of the world, he suggests—the US is “becoming the rogue superpower,” considered “the single greatest external threat to their societies.” Realist “international relations theory,” he argues, predicts that coalitions may arise to counterbalance the rogue superpower. On pragmatic grounds, then, the stance should be reconsidered. Americans who prefer a different image of their society might call for a reconsideration on other than pragmatic grounds.

Where does that leave the question of what to do in Kosovo? It leaves it unanswered. The US has chosen a course of action which, as it explicitly recognizes, escalates atrocities and violence—“predictably”; a course of action that also strikes yet another blow against the regime of international order, which does offer the

The US has chosen a course of action which, as it explicitly recognizes, escalates atrocities and violence — “predictably”; a course of action that also strikes yet another blow against the regime of international order, which does offer the weak at least some limited protection from predatory states.

weak at least some limited protection from predatory states. As for the longer term, consequences are unpredictable. One plausible observation is that “every bomb that falls on Serbia and every ethnic killing in Kosovo suggests that it will scarcely be possible for Serbs and Albanians to live beside each other in some sort of peace” (*Financial Times*, March 27). Some of the longer-term possible outcomes are extremely ugly, as has not gone without notice.

A standard argument is that we had to do something: we could not simply stand by as atrocities continue. That is never true. One choice, always, is to follow the Hippocratic principle: “First, do no harm.” If you can think of no way to adhere to that elementary principle, then do nothing. There are always ways that can be considered. Diplomacy and negotiations are never at an end.

The right of “humanitarian intervention” is likely to be more frequently invoked in coming years—maybe with justification, maybe not—now that Cold War pretexts have lost their efficacy. In such an era, it may be worthwhile to pay attention to the views of highly respected commentators—not to speak of the World Court, which explicitly ruled on this matter in a decision rejected by the United States, its essentials not even reported.

In the scholarly disciplines of interna-

tional affairs and international law it would be hard to find more respected voices than Hedley Bull or Louis Henkin. Bull warned 15 years ago that “Particular states or groups of states that set themselves up as the authoritative judges of the world common good, in disregard of the views of others, are in fact a menace to international order, and thus to effective action in this field.” Henkin, in a standard work on world order, writes that the “pressures eroding the prohibition on the use of force are deplorable, and the arguments to legitimize the use of force in those circumstances are unpersuasive and dangerous... Viola-

tions of human rights are indeed all too common, and if it were permissible to remedy them by external use of force, there would be no law to forbid the use of force by almost any state against almost any other. Human rights, I believe, will have to be vindicated, and other injustices remedied, by other, peaceful means, not by opening the door to aggression and destroying the principle advance in international law, the outlawing of war and the prohibition of force.”

Recognized principles of international law and world order, solemn treaty obligations, decisions by the World Court, considered pronouncements by the most respected commentators—these do not automatically solve particular problems. Each issue has to be considered on its merits. For those who do not adopt the standards of Saddam Hussein, there is a heavy burden of proof to meet in undertaking the threat or use of force in violation of the principles of international order. Perhaps the burden can be met, but that has to be shown, not merely proclaimed with passionate rhetoric. The consequences of such violations have to be assessed carefully—in particular, what we understand to be “predictable.” And for those who are minimally serious, the reasons for the actions also have to be assessed—again, not simply by adulation of our leaders and their “moral compass.”

DISMANTLING FORMER YUGOSLAVIA, RECOLONISING BOSNIA

Michel Chossudovsky

As heavily-armed NATO troops enforce the peace in Bosnia, the press and politicians alike portray Western intervention in the former Yugoslavia as a noble, if agonizingly belated, response to an outbreak of ethnic massacres and human rights violations. In the wake of the November 1995 Dayton Peace Accords, the West is eager to touch up its self-portrait as saviour of the Southern Slavs and get on with "the work of rebuilding" the newly sovereign states.

But following a pattern set since the onslaught of the civil war, Western public opinion has been misled. The conventional wisdom, exemplified by the writings of former US Ambassador to Yugoslavia Robert Zimmermann, is that the plight of the Balkans is the outcome of an "aggressive nationalism", the inevitable result of deep-seated ethnic and religious tensions rooted in history.¹ Likewise, much has been made of the "Balkans power-play" and the clash of political personalities: "Tudjman and Milosevic are tearing Bosnia-Herzegovina to pieces."²

Drowned in the barrage of images and self-serving analyses are the economic and social causes of the conflict. The deep-seated economic crisis which preceded the civil war has long been forgotten. The strategic interests of Germany and the US in laying the groundwork for the disintegration of Yugoslavia go unmentioned, as does the role of external creditors and international financial institutions. In the eyes of the global media, Western powers bear no responsibility for the impoverishment and destruction of a nation of 24 million people.

*"Dismantling Yugoslavia, Colonizing Bosnia" provides some useful background information regarding the economic restructuring programmes that occurred in the decade leading up to the current crisis in Kosovo. Michel Chossudovsky is a professor of Economics at the University of Ottawa in Canada. This essay first appeared in the Spring 1996 issue of **Covert Action Quarterly**. Their website is located at: <http://www.caq.com/>*

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But through their domination of the global financial system, the Western powers, pursuing their collective and individual "strategic interests" helped from the beginning of the 1980s, bring the Yugoslav economy to its knees, contributing to stirring simmering ethnic and social conflicts. Now, the efforts of the international financial community are channelled towards "helping Yugoslavia's war-ravaged successor states." Yet while the World's attention is focused on troop movements and cease fires, creditors and international financial institutions are busy at work collecting former Yugoslavia's external debt, while transforming the Balkans into a safe-haven for free enterprise.

Adopted in several stages since the early 1980s, the reforms imposed by Belgrade's creditors wreaked economic and political havoc leading to disintegration of the industrial sector and the piece-meal dismantling of the Yugoslav Welfare State. Despite Belgrade's political non-alignment and extensive trading relations with the US and the European Community, the Reagan administration had targeted the Yugoslav economy in a "Secret Sensitive" 1984 National Security Decision Directive (NSDD 133) entitled "United States Policy towards Yugoslavia." A censored version of this document declassified in 1990 largely conformed to a previous National Security Decision Directive (NSDD 54) on Eastern Europe issued in 1982. Its objectives included "expanded efforts to promote a 'quiet revolution' to overthrow Communist governments and parties"... while reintegrating the countries of Eastern Europe into the orbit of the World market.³

Secessionist tendencies feeding on social and ethnic divisions, gained impetus precisely during a period of brutal impoverishment of the Yugoslav population. The first phase of macro-economic reform initiated in 1980 shortly before the death of Marshall Tito "wreaked economic and political havoc... Slower growth, the accumulation of foreign debt and especially the cost of servicing it as well as devaluation led to a fall in the standard of living of the average Yugoslav... The economic crisis threatened political stability ... it also threatened to aggravate simmering ethnic tensions."⁴ These reforms accompanied by the signing of debt restructuring agree-

ments with the official and commercial creditors also served to weaken the institutions of the federal State creating political divisions between Belgrade and the governments of the Republics and Autonomous Provinces. "The Prime Minister Milka Planinc, who was supposed to carry out the programme, had to promise the IMF an immediate increase of the discount rates and much more for the Reaganomics arsenal of measures..."⁵

The Agreement with the IMF

The economic package was launched in January 1990 under an IMF Stand-by Arrangement (SBA) and a World Bank Structural Adjustment Loan (SAL II). The budget cuts requiring the redirection of federal revenues towards debt servicing, were conducive to the suspension of transfer payments by Belgrade to the governments of the Republics and Autonomous Provinces thereby fuelling the process of political Balkanization and secessionism. The government of Serbia rejected Markovic's austerity programme outright leading to a walk-out protest of some 650,000 Serbian workers directed against the Federal government.⁶ The Trade Union movement was united in this struggle: "worker resistance crossed ethnic lines, as Serbs, Croats, Bosnians and Slovenians mobilised (...) shoulder to shoulder with their fellow workers (...)."⁹

The 1989 Enterprise Reforms

The 1989 enterprise reforms adopted under Premier Ante Markovic played a central role in steering the industrial sector into bankruptcy. By 1990, the annual rate of growth of GDP had collapsed to -7.5 percent.¹⁰ In 1991, GDP declined by a further 15 percent, industrial output collapsed by 21 percent.¹¹ The restructuring programme demanded by Belgrade's creditors was intended to abrogate the system of socially owned enterprises. The Enterprise Law of 1989 required abolishing the "Basic Organizations of Associated Labour (BAOL)."¹² The latter were socially-owned productive units under self-management with the Workers' Council constituting the main

decision making body. The 1989 Enterprise Law required the transformation of the BOALs into private capitalist enterprises with the Worker's Council replaced by a so-called "Social Board" under the control of the enterprise's owners including its creditors.¹³ "The objective was to subject the Yugoslav economy to massive privatisation and the dismantling of the public sector. Who was to carry it out? The Communist Party bureaucracy, most notably its military and intelligence sector, was canvassed specifically and offered political and economic backing on the condition that wholesale scuttling of social protections for Yugoslavia's workforce was imposed..."¹⁴

Overhauling The Legal Framework

A number of supporting pieces of legislation were put in place in a hurry with the assistance of Western lawyers and consultants. A new Banking Law was enacted with a view to triggering the liquidation of the socially owned "Associated Banks." More than half the country's banks were dismantled, the emphasis was on the formation of "independent profit oriented institutions."¹⁵ By 1990, the entire "three-tier banking system" consisting of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, the national banks of the eight Republics and autonomous provinces and the commercial banks had been dismantled under the guidance of the World Bank.¹⁶ A World Bank Financial Sector Adjustment Loan was being negotiated in 1990. It was to be adopted by the Belgrade government in 1991...

The Bankruptcy Programme

Industrial enterprises had been carefully categorised. Under the IMF-World Bank sponsored reforms, credit to the industrial sector had been frozen with a view to speeding up the bankruptcy process. So-called "exit mechanisms" had been established under the provisions of the 1989 Financial Operations Act.¹⁷ The latter stipulated that if an enterprise were to remain insolvent for 30 days running, or for 30 days within a 45 day period, it must hold

a meeting within the next 15 days with its creditors in view of arriving at a settlement. This mechanism allowed creditors (including national and foreign banks) to routinely convert their loans into a controlling equity in the insolvent enterprise. Under the Act, the government was not authorised to intervene. In case a settlement was not reached, bankruptcy procedures would be initiated in which case workers would not normally receive severance payments.¹⁸

In 1989, according to official sources, 248 firms were steered into bankruptcy or were liquidated and 89,400 workers had been laid off.¹⁹ During the first nine months of 1990 directly following the adoption of the IMF programme, another 889 enterprises with a combined work-force of 525,000 workers were subjected to bankruptcy procedures.²⁰ In other words, in less than two years "the trigger mechanism" (under the Financial Operations Act) had led to the lay off of more than 600,000 workers (out of a total industrial workforce of the order of 2.7 million). The largest concentrations of bankrupt firms and lay-offs were in Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia and Kosovo.²¹

Many socially owned enterprises attempted to avoid bankruptcy through the non payment of wages. Half a million workers representing some 20 percent of the industrial labour force were not paid during the early months of 1990, in order to meet the demands of creditors under the "settlement" procedures stipulated in the Law on Financial Organisations. Real earnings were in a free fall, social programmes had collapsed, with the bankruptcies of industrial enterprises, unemployment had become rampant, creating within the population an atmosphere of social despair and hopelessness. "When Mr. Markovic finally started his 'programmed privatisation', the republican oligarchies, who all had visions of a 'national renaissance' of their own, instead of choosing between a genuine Yugoslav market and hyperinflation, opted for war which would disguise the real causes of the economic catastrophe."²²

The January 1990 IMF sponsored pack-

age contributed unequivocally to increasing enterprise losses while precipitating many of the large electric, petroleum refinery, machinery, engineering and chemical enterprises into bankruptcy. Moreover, with the deregulation of the trade regime in January 1990, a flood of imported commodities contributed to further

Supporting broad strategic interests, the austerity measures had laid the basis for "the recolonisation" of the Balkans. In the multi-party elections in 1990, economic policy was at the centre of the political debate, the separatist coalitions ousted the Communists in Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Slovenia.

destabilising domestic production. These imports were financed with borrowed money granted under the IMF package (i.e. the various "quick disbursing loans" granted by the IMF, the World Bank and bilateral donors in support of the economic reforms). While the import bonanza was fuelling the build-up of Yugoslavia's external debt, the abrupt hikes in interest rates and input prices imposed on national enterprises had expedited the displacement and exclusion of domestic producers from their own national market.

"Shedding Surplus Workers"

The situation prevailing in the months preceding the secession of Croatia and Slovenia (June 1991) (confirmed by the 1989-90 bankruptcy figures) points to the sheer magnitude and brutality of the process of industrial dismantling. The figures, however, provide but a partial picture, depicting the situation at the outset of the "bankruptcy programme." The latter has continued unabated throughout the period of the civil war and its aftermath... Similar industrial restructuring programmes were imposed by external creditors on Yugoslavia's successor states.

The World Bank had estimated that there were still in September 1990, 2,435 "loss-

making" enterprises out of a remaining total of 7,531.²³ In other words, these 2,435 firms with a combined work-force of more than 1.3 million workers had been categorised as "insolvent" under the provisions of the Financial Operations Act, requiring the immediate implementation of bankruptcy procedures. Bearing in mind that 600,000 workers had already been laid off by bankrupt firms prior to September 1990, these figures suggest that some 1.9 million workers (out of a total of 2.7 million) had been classified as "redundant." The "insolvent" firms concentrated in the Energy, Heavy Industry, Metal processing, Forestry and Textiles sectors were among the largest industrial enterprises in the country representing (in September 1990) 49.7 percent of the total (remaining and employed) industrial work-force.²⁴

Political Disintegration

Supporting broad strategic interests, the austerity measures had laid the basis for "the recolonisation" of the Balkans. In the multi-party elections in 1990, economic policy was at the centre of the political debate, the separatist coalitions ousted the Communists in Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Slovenia.

Following the decisive victory in Croatia of the rightist Democratic Union in May 1990 under the leadership of Franjo Tudjman, the separation of Croatia received the formal assent of the German Foreign Minister Mr. Hans Dietrich Genscher who was in almost daily contact with his Croatian counterpart in Zagreb.²⁵ Germany not only favoured secession, it was also "forcing the pace of international diplomacy" and pressuring its Western allies to grant recognition to Slovenia and Croatia. The borders of Yugoslavia are reminiscent of World War II when Croatia (including the territories of Bosnia-Herzegovina) was an Axis satellite under the fascist Ustasa regime: "German expansion has been accompanied by a rising tide of nationalism and xenophobia... Germany has been seeking a free hand among its al-

lies to pursue economic dominance in the whole of Mitteleuropa..."²⁶ Washington on the other hand, favoured "a loose unity while encouraging democratic development... [the US Secretary of State] Baker told [Croatia's President] Franjo Tudjman and [Slovenia's President] Milan Kucan that the United States would not encourage or support unilateral secession... but if they had to leave, he urged them to leave by a negotiated agreement..."²⁷

Post-War Reconstruction

The economic reforms now being imposed on the "successor states" are a natural extension and continuation of those previously implemented in federal Yugoslavia. In the tragic aftermath of a brutal and destructive War, the prospects for rebuilding the newly independent republics appear bleak. Despite a virtual press blackout on the subject, debt rescheduling is an integral part of the peace process. The former Yugoslavia has been carved up under the close scrutiny of its external creditors, its foreign debt has been carefully divided and allocated to the republics. The privatisation programmes implemented under the supervision of the donors, have contributed to a further stage of economic dislocation and impoverishment of the population. GDP had declined by as much as 50 percent in four years (1990-93).²⁸

Moreover, the leaders of the newly sovereign states have fully collaborated with the creditors: "All the current leaders of the former Yugoslav republics were Communist Party functionaries and each in turn vied to meet the demands of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, the better to qualify for investment loans and substantial perks for the leadership... State industry and machinery were looted by functionaries. Equipment showed up in 'private companies' run by family members of the nomenklatura."²⁹

Even as the fighting raged, Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia had entered into separate loan negotiations with the Bretton Woods institutions. In Croatia, the government of President Franjo Tudjman signed in 1993, an agreement with the IMF. Massive budget cuts mandated under the agree-

ment thwarted Croatia's efforts to mobilize its own productive resources, thus jeopardizing post-war reconstruction. The cost of rebuilding Croatia's war-torn economy was estimated at some \$23 billion, requiring an influx of fresh foreign loans. In the absence of "debt forgiveness", Zagreb's debt burden will be fuelled well into the 21st Century.

In return for foreign loans, the government of President Franjo Tudjman had agreed to reform measures conducive to further plant closures and bankruptcies, driving wages to abysmally low levels. The official unemployment rate increased from 15.5 percent in 1991 to 19.1 percent in 1994.³⁰

Zagreb has also instituted a far more

stringent bankruptcy law, together with procedures for "the dismemberment" of large state-owned public utility companies. According to its "Letter of Intent" to the Bretton Woods institutions, the Croatian government had promised to restructure and fully privatize the banking sector with the assistance of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) and the World Bank. The latter have also demanded a Croatian capital market structured to heighten the penetration of Western institutional investors and brokerage firms.

Under the agreement signed in 1993 with the IMF, the Zagreb government was not permitted to mobilise its own productive resources through fiscal and monetary



policy. The latter were firmly under the control of its external creditors. The massive budget cuts demanded under the agreement had forestalled the possibility of post-war reconstruction. The latter could only be carried out through the granting of fresh foreign loans, a process which would fuel Croatia's external debt well into the 21st Century. The cost of rebuilding Croatia's war-torn economy was estimated at some 23 billion dollars...

Macedonia has also followed a similar economic path. In December 1993, the Skopje government agreed to compress real wages and freeze credit in order to obtain a loan under the IMF's Systemic Transformation Facility (STF). In an unusual twist, multi-billionaire business tycoon George Soros participated in the International Support Group composed of the government of the Netherlands and the Basel-based Bank of International Settlements. The money provided by the Support Group, however, was not intended for "reconstruction" but rather to enable Skopje to pay back debt arrears owed the World Bank...³¹

Moreover, in return for debt rescheduling, the government of Macedonian Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski had to agree to the liquidation of remaining "insolvent" enterprises and the lay off of "redundant" workers—which included the employees of half the industrial enterprises in the country. As Deputy Finance Minister Hari Kostov soberly noted, with interest rates at astronomical levels because of donor-sponsored banking reforms, "it was literally impossible to find a company in the country which would be able to (...) cover [its] costs (...)."³²

Overall, the IMF economic therapy for Macedonia constitutes a continuation of the "bankruptcy programme" launched in 1989 under federal Yugoslavia. The most profitable assets are now on sale on the year-old Macedonian stock market, but this auction of socially owned enterprises has led to industrial collapse and rampant unemployment.

Yet despite the decimation of the economy and the disintegration of schools and health centres under the austerity measures, Finance Minister Ljube Trpevski proudly informed the press that "the World Bank and the IMF place Macedonia among

the most successful countries in regard to current transition reforms." The head of the IMF mission to Macedonia, Mr. Paul Thomsen, concurs that "the results of the stabilization program [under the STF] were impressive" giving particular credit and appreciation to "the efficient wages policy" adopted by the Skopje government.³³

Rebuilding Bosnia and Herzegovina

With a Bosnian peace settlement apparently holding under NATO guns, the West has unveiled a "reconstruction" programme which fully strips Bosnia-Herzegovina of its economic and political sovereignty. This programme largely consists in developing Bosnia-Herzegovina as a divided territory under NATO military occupation and Western administration.

Resting on the November 1995 Dayton accords, the US and the European Union have installed a full-fledged colonial administration in Bosnia. At its head is their appointed High Representative (HR) Mr. Carl Bildt, a former Swedish Prime Minister and European Representative in the Bosnian Peace negotiations. The HR has full executive powers in all civilian matters, with the right to overrule the governments of both the Bosnian Federation and the Bosnian-Serb Republika Srpska. The HR is to act in close liaison with the IFOR Military High Command as well with donors agencies.

An international civilian police force is under the custody of an expatriate Commissioner appointed by the United Nations Secretary General Mr. Boutros Boutros Ghali, some 1,700 policemen from fifteen countries most of whom have never set foot in the Balkans, were dispatched to Bosnia after a five days training programme in Zagreb.

While the West has underscored its support to democracy, the Parliamentary Assembly set up under the "Constitution" finalised under the Dayton Accords, largely acts as a "rubber stamp." Behind the democratic facade, actual political power rests in the hands of a "parallel government" headed by the High Representative and staffed by expatriate advisors.

Moreover, the Constitution agreed in

Dayton hands over the reins of economic policy to the Bretton Woods institutions and the London based European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD). Article VII stipulates that the first Governor of the Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina is to be appointed by the IMF and "shall not be a citizen of Bosnia and Herzegovina or a neighbouring State..."

Just as the Governor of the Central Bank is an IMF appointee, the Central Bank will not be allowed under the Constitution to function as a Central Bank: "For the first six years (...) it may not extend credit by creating money, operating in this respect as a currency board" (Article VII). Neither will the new "sovereign" successor State be allowed to have its own currency (issuing paper money only when there is full foreign exchange backing), nor permitted to mobilise its internal resources. As in the other successor republics, its ability to self-finance its reconstruction (without massively increasing its external debt) is blunted from the outset...

The tasks of managing the Bosnian economy have been carefully divided among donor agencies: while the Central Bank is under IMF custody, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) heads the Commission on Public Corporations which supervises operations of all public sector enterprises including energy, water, postal services, roads, railways, etc. The President of the EBRD appoints the Chairman of the Commission which also oversees public sector restructuring, meaning primarily the sell-off of State and socially owned assets and the procurement of long term investment funds.

One cannot sidestep a fundamental question: is the Bosnian Constitution formally agreed between heads of State at Dayton really a constitution? A sombre and dangerous precedent has been set in the history of international relations: Western creditors have embedded their interests in a Constitution hastily written on their behalf, executive positions within the Bosnian State system are to be held by non-citizens who are appointees of Western financial institutions. No constitutional assembly, no consultations with citizens' organisations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, no "constitutional amendments..."

The Bosnian government estimates that reconstruction costs will reach \$47 billion. Western donors have pledged \$3 billion in reconstruction loans, yet only a meagre \$518 million dollars were granted in December 1995, part of which is tagged (under the terms of the Dayton Peace Accords) to finance some of the local civilian costs of the Implementation Force's (IFOR) military deployment as well as repay debt arrears with international creditors.

In a familiar twist, "fresh loans" have been devised to pay back "old debt." The Central Bank of the Netherlands has generously provided "bridge financing" of 37 million dollars. The money, however, is earmarked to allow Bosnia to pay back its arrears with the IMF, a condition without which the IMF will not lend it fresh money...³⁵ But it is a cruel and absurd paradox: the sought after loan from the IMF's newly created "Emergency Window" for so-called "post-conflict countries" will not be used for post-war reconstruction. Instead it will be applied to reimburse the Central Bank of the Netherlands which had coughed up the money to settle IMF arrears in the first place... While debt is building up, no new financial resources are flowing into Bosnia to rebuild its war-torn economy...

Multinationals have an Eye on Bosnia's Oil Fields

Western governments and corporations show greater interest in gaining access to potential strategic natural resources than committing resources for rebuilding Bosnia. Documents in the hands of Croatia and the Bosnian Serbs indicate that coal and oil deposits have been identified on the eastern slope of the Dinarides Thrust, a region retaken from rebel Bosnian Krajina Serbs by the Croatian army in the final offensives before the Dayton Peace accords. Bosnian officials report that Chicago-based Amoco was among several foreign firms that subsequently initiated exploratory surveys in Bosnia. The West is anxious to develop these regions: "The World Bank—and the multinationals that conducted operations—are [August 1995] reluctant to divulge their latest exploration reports to the combatant governments

while the war continues..."³⁶ Moreover, there are also "substantial petroleum fields in the Serb-held part of Croatia just across the Sava river from the Tuzla region."³⁷ The latter under the Dayton Agreement, is part of the US Military Division with headquarters in Tuzla.

The territorial partition of Bosnia between the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Bosnian-Serb Republika Srpska under the Dayton Accords thus takes on strategic importance, the 60,000 NATO troops on hand to "enforce the peace" will administer the territorial partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina in accordance with Western economic interests.

National sovereignty is derogated, the future of Bosnia will be decided upon in Washington, Bonn and Brussels rather than in Sarajevo... The process of "reconstruction" based on debt rescheduling is more likely to plunge Bosnia-Herzegovina (as well as the other remnant republics of former Yugoslavia) into the status of a Third World country.

While local leaders and Western interests share the spoils of the former Yugoslav economy, the fragmentation of the national territory and the entrenching of socio-ethnic divisions in the structure of partition serve as a bulwark blocking a united resistance of Yugoslavs of all ethnic origins against the recolonization of their homeland.

Concluding Remarks

Macro-economic restructuring applied in Yugoslavia under the neoliberal policy agenda has unequivocally contributed to the destruction of an entire country. Yet since the onset of war in 1991, the central role of macro-economic reform has been carefully overlooked and denied by the global media. The "free market" has been presented as the solution, the basis for rebuilding a war-shattered economy. A detailed diary of the war and of the "peace-making" process has been presented by the mainstream press. The social and political impact of economic restructuring in Yugoslavia has been carefully erased from our social consciousness and collective understanding of "what actually happened."

Cultural, ethnic and religious divisions are highlighted, presented dogmatically as the sole cause of the crisis when in reality they are the consequence of a much deeper process of economic and political fracturing.

This "false consciousness" has invaded all spheres of critical debate and discussion. It not only masks the truth, it also prevents us from acknowledging precise historical occurrences. Ultimately it distorts the true sources of social conflict. The unity, solidarity and identity of the Southern Slavs have their foundation in history, yet this identity has been thwarted, manipulated and destroyed.

The ruin of an economic system, including the take-over of productive assets, the extension of markets and "the scramble for territory" in the Balkans constitute the real cause of conflict. What is at stake in Yugoslavia are the lives of millions of people. Macro-economic reform destroys their livelihood, derogates their right to work, their food and shelter, their culture and national identity... Borders are redefined, the entire legal system is overhauled, the socially owned enterprises are steered into bankruptcy, the financial and banking system is dismantled, social programmes and institutions are torn down... In retrospect, it is worth recalling Yugoslavia's economic and social achievements in the post-war period (prior to 1980): the growth of GDP was on average 6.1 per annum over a twenty year period (1960-1980), there was free medical care with one doctor per 550 population, the literacy rate was of the order of 91 percent, life expectancy was 72 years...³⁷

Yugoslavia is a "mirror" of similar economic restructuring programmes applied not only in the developing World but also in recent years in the US, Canada and Western Europe... "Strong economic medicine" is the answer, throughout the World, people are led to believe that there is no other solution: enterprises must be closed down, workers must be laid off and social programmes must be slashed... It is in the foregoing context that the economic crisis in Yugoslavia should be understood. Pushed to the extreme, the reforms in Yugoslavia are the cruel reflection of a de-

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A VERY EUROPEAN WAR

Doug Henwood

Robert Hayden is the director of the Center for Russian and East European Studies at the University of Pittsburgh. This is an edited version of an interview that Doug Henwood conducted with him on WBAI, New York, on April 15, 1999.

Some critics of this war say it has no grand imperial design—it's just humanitarianism run amok. What do you think?

*In "A Very European War," Doug Henwood interviews Robert Hayden, director of the Center for Russian and East European Studies at the University of Pittsburgh. This interview is an edited version of an interview Henwood conducted with him on WBAI, New York, on April 15, 1999. This interview and Henwood's article "This Kosovo thing," is reprinted from the April 1999 of **Left Business Observer**, a monthly newsletter covering economics and politics. Subscriptions are \$22/year from **Left Business Observer**, 250 W. 85 St., New York, NY 10024-3217. Their website is at: www.panix.com/~dhenwood/LBO_home.html*

I think that there is a grand imperial design. To celebrate its 50th anniversary, NATO has announced a new doctrine under which it would be permitted to operate outside of its area to defend what it defines as its interests, including the Middle East and South Asia. If that doesn't sound like imperialism I'm not sure what does. Certainly the idea of eliminating Russian influence from the Balkans is part of what's driving this. And you can see this in the U.S. insistence that NATO has to occupy Kosovo—it can't be any other international force—which is actually a hardening of positions that are quickly softening in other parts of NATO. The United States is driving the war. The U.S. wanted the war in the first place—it's got it, and is insisting on keeping it going.

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Why does the United States want the war?

That's an interesting question. We do have the sheer incompetence of the Clinton administration in foreign affairs, and specifically Madeleine Albright, and this is where the moral crusade comes into it. Madeleine desperately wanted to bomb the Serbs, and she's got that.

Why'd she want that? Personal passion?

I'm not quite sure, but it's clearly a personal passion. You'll remember she was the one who was saying "What's the point of having this magnificent military if we never use it?," and she really does have a thing about Milosevic. Now granted, Milosevic is an evil thug, there's no question about this. He's a dictator, and a particularly evil and brutal one, but guess what: even though things were bad in Kosovo before this action took place—before this aggression took place, let me be specific—they weren't nearly as bad as they've been since then. And of course the humanitarian justifications are ludicrous. One of the triggering events for this bombing was the massacre of 45 ethnic Albanians by the Serb army in February. NATO just massacred that many plus half again yesterday. Apart from the terrible consequences for the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo—which is a direct response to Bill Clinton's assault on Serbia...

Warmongers say the Serbs had this up their sleeves all along and the bombing just accelerated it, and while there may be casualties in the short run they're preventing even greater disasters in the long run.

No, quite to the contrary, they're provoking larger disasters in the long run. Look, the Balkans are being destabilized day by day. The longer this war goes on the greater the chances for a general Balkans war, which would probably grow into a general

European war and that could become a world war. What the administration is doing is insane. The purpose of the war is now to fight the war. When you hear former secretaries of state saying "Well, we've gotta win it," what does that mean?

The immediate model for this action seems to have been the Croatian expulsion of a quarter-million Serbs from Croatia in 1995, a Croatian military exercise done with an army that had benefited from American military training, American military intelligence, direct American military support in the beginning, and all the political cover you'd ever want from the USA. That's exactly what the Kosovo operation looked like on the ground. That gives the administration a problem: if what happened in Kosovo was genocide, then what happened in Croatia was genocide, but since the U.S. helped organize what happened in Croatia in '95 that would make the Clinton administration an accomplice to genocide.

What does it mean to win it when every scenario we have for winning it destroys southeastern Europe? It's the same logic that led us to destroy southeast Asia. Nobody's talking about the consequences to the entire region of this—the devastating economic consequences, the devastating ecological consequences. The U.S. is again using depleted uranium bullets. The University of Skopje in Macedonia is reporting that radiation levels are three times their normal levels. When we see NATO blowing up oil refineries on the largest river in Europe, the ecological damage caused by that is enormous. But of course NATO doesn't care.

But it's all surgically targeted, this is humanitarian bombing!

Here's a humanitarian figure for you: the casualties among Serb civilians in the first three weeks of this war are higher than all of the casualties on both sides in Kosovo in the three months that led up to this war, and yet those three months were supposed to be a humanitarian catastrophe.

The number people of killed in Kosovo last year was about 2,000, right?

The figure usually given is about 2,000 dead in Kosovo in a year and a half. Next to Rwanda or Indonesia, that's minimal. If you look at the casualty figures caused by Turkish military options against the Kurds, not only in Turkey but across the border into Iraq, they're many times greater than the casualties to the Kosovo Albanians. This is not to say that it was pleasant for the Albanians in Kosovo. Quite the contrary. I've been to Kosovo, I've talked to the Albanians, I know those people. It was a very bad situation they were living under, but it was not a situation that could be addressed by military means.

Where did this all come from? People blame the Serbians, call them the new

Nazis, perpetrators of a new holocaust.

Oh, the new holocaust, isn't that sickening? That's an insult to the people who died in the Holocaust. They played the genocide card because they wanted you to think "Auschwitz," but you didn't have cattle cars going into a concentration camp. You've had people being forced to leave their homes and go over a border into a new homeland. Now this is brutal, but it is as European a process as you can get in the 20th century. The immediate model for this action seems to have been the Croatian expulsion of a quarter-million Serbs from Croatia in 1995, a Croatian military exercise done with an army that had benefited from American military training, American military intelligence, direct American military support in the beginning, and all the political cover you'd ever want from the USA. That's exactly what the Kosovo operation looked like on the ground. That gives the administration a problem: if what happened in Kosovo was genocide, then what happened in Croatia was genocide, but since the U.S. helped organize what

This Kosovo thing

[I]f this domestic policy is going to work, we have to be free to pursue it. And if we're going to have a strong economic relationship that includes our ability to sell around the world, Europe has got to be a key. And if we want people to share our burdens of leadership with all the problems that will inevitably crop up, Europe needs to be our partner. Now, that's what this Kosovo thing is all about... it's about our values.

—Bill Clinton, March 23, 1999

One thing's for sure: NATO's glorious little war has little to do with humanitarianism, except for the PR campaign. NATO isn't a relief agency, it's an instrument of war. A humanitarian motive is impossible to accept given U.S. indifference to and participation in so many other catastrophes—1.5 million dead Sudanese, hundreds of thousands of Kurds killed and displaced by Turkey, hundreds of thousands dead and displaced in Rwanda, and a million Iraqis dead from U.S. sanctions. In fact, while it's easy to think of humanitarian catastrophes the U.S. has created, it's hard to think of one it's brought to an end. It's depressing to see people who should know better—those baptized the "cruise-missile liberals" by the *Guardian's* Mark Steel—cheering on the bombers.

With the end of the cold war, the marketization of everything, and the banalization of politics to mere adjustment to competitive forces, we've become familiar with the coding of trouble on the periphery: as "monsters" to be bombed, or victims to be pitied. (Over the last few years, Yugoslavia went from the latter—oh those ancient Balkan hatreds are acting up again!—to the former.) In either case, the disasters are treated as phenomena of nature, not products of political economy.

But these disasters are usually traceable to the economic and social collapse that has come to afflict a good deal of the world outside the prosperous First

happened in Croatia in '95 that would make the Clinton administration an accomplice to genocide.

What has triumphed in Europe in this century is the concept of nation-state, in which the nation, which is an ethnic group in American terms, gets the state, which is a territory and a government. The nation is sovereign. So the Germans are sovereign in Germany, and if you are not an ethnic German, you may be living in Germany but you are not part of the sovereign body. Most of Europe is set up in this way. What won in the free and fair elections in Yugoslavia at the end of Communism was the ethnic state, and that required moving populations. The areas that were mixed in the former Yugoslavia have become unmixed, and Kosovo is the last stage in this.

Why was the region able to live in relative peace for 40 years, and then slide into this civil war?

The Tito regime operated under the principle of brotherhood and unity. The basic assumption was that all the peoples living in the former Yugoslavia were so closely related and intermingled that they had to live together or you'd have a catastrophe. And both of those premises are correct. You could see this in the rising intermarriage rates in the former Yugoslavia up until the very end. But unfortunately that's not what people voted for. They voted for Slovenia for Slovenes, a Croatia for Croats, a Serbia for Serbs, Macedonia for Macedonians. Bosnia presented a problem for this. The idea that the nation gets the state only works if there's a majority ethnic nation, and there wasn't one in Bosnia. The largest group was the Muslims with 43%, but the Serbs and the Croats, with 51% of the Bosnian population between them, never accepted incorporation into a Bosnian state and don't accept it now. So how do you get a state when over half your population rejects inclusion in it?

The 12% of the population of Croatia in April 1991 that was Serb is down to less than 3% now; half a million Serbs have been forced out of Croatia. Bosnia is not a state, it's three ethnically purified mini-states, a Croatian one, a Muslim one, and

a Serbian one, each of which is now more than 90% homogenized. And this is what's happening in Kosovo.

Why the disintegration from unity into ethnicization? Economic crisis?

There was a protracted economic crisis in the former Yugoslavia in the 1980s which turned into a political crisis. But what has happened is the triumph of a European ideology. I was living in Yugoslavia in the 1980s and we all thought that the social democrats were going to win and we were appalled that they didn't. The nationalists won. That's what wins in Europe in the 20th century. Americans find this hard to understand. There's no place in the United States with the possible exception of some of the larger Indian reservations where you can link territory and ethnic group. That's the way Europe is. There's one place in North America where you can link territory and ethnic group and that's Quebec. Quebec is a classic European nationalist movement. The history of the 20th century in Europe has been one of massive population transfers.

So what can be done about the Yugoslavian situation?

The war needs to end now. The only thing that is keeping the war from ending now is the Clinton administration. It would end with a stand-in-place agreement in which NATO would stop bombing the Serbs and the Serbs would stop attacking Albanians.

Warriors say the Serbs would never agree.

The Serbs would agree to that. The Serbs agreed to an international force even before NATO began this aggression. They say this because they don't want the Serbs to agree to it. They don't want to offer that. Clinton has been determined to have Kosovo occupied by NATO, which the Serbs will not accept. Even before the bombing began the Serbian parliament voted to accept an international presence. There are very clear indications the Serbs would accept an international presence but not a NATO presence. Then of course that keeps things solid on the ground, though it lets the refugees come back, though not

necessarily to exactly where they lived before. The political solution, I've been arguing, has been the partition of Kosovo, in which the Serbs would keep the northern 20%, and the Albanians would get the rest as a protectorate, and probably joining the rest of Albania after about five years. There would have to be some provision for redrawing the borders of Macedonia.

Is there any way to get beyond this idea of ethnically pure national states?

No, that's how Europe works. Show me the exceptions. There's Belgium, but that's actually two ethnically pure areas except for the capital, Brussels, loosely linked together. Switzerland is several ethnically pure areas more tightly linked together, but that's it.

Sounds like Europeans are guilty of the tribalism they accuse "primitive" peoples of.

Absolutely, except they call it nationalism. You call it tribalism in Africa, nationalism in Europe, communalism in South Asia—racism in America, but it doesn't take the territorial form in America that it does in Europe.

What's the administration's goal in this? How will they know if they've won?

That's an excellent question, and I don't know the answer. The goals that Clinton set out when he began this war were to prevent a humanitarian catastrophe, stabilize the Balkans, and have the side benefit of solidifying our relations with the democratic Russians. Believe it or not, that's what he said. We have provoked a humanitarian catastrophe which gets worse by the day and we are destabilizing the Balkans with every airstrike. What does winning mean? We don't know, and they didn't know when they started. Remember, before this war began, the consequences we have now seen—the Serbian attack on

the Albanians, the destabilization of Macedonia and Albania—this was all predicted by the military and the CIA, and the administration ignored them. To make it even worse, I had heard five days before this assault began, that while Clinton was committed to bombing, they had no idea what they were going to do once the bombs started to fall, unless Milosevic conveniently ran up the white flag, which nobody who knew anything ever thought would happen.

Did Clinton think the mere sight of B-52s would cause the Serbs to fold?

Your choice is that the Clinton administration has been grossly incompetent or grossly callous. There is no third choice, though those two are not mutually exclusive.

And how seriously have the Russians been alienated?

Completely. Remember, we told the Russians not to fear NATO expansion because NATO was a purely defensive alliance. Guess what, that purely defensive alliance has mounted the first unprovoked aggressive war in Europe since the Blitzkrieg.



World core. Sometimes important people ignore the disasters, and sometimes they promote them. But they rarely see their role in creating them. It's no mere detail that Yugoslavia came under the tutelage of the IMF in the early 1950s, and the country borrowed heavily and disastrously. Over the decades, the IMF promoted decentralization, competition, and a weakening of development policies that favored poorer regions, and the promotion of market principles. In the 1970s, market liberalization and nationalism went hand-in-hand; for example, Croatian nationalists demanded to keep their foreign exchange earnings. The collapse of the USSR accelerated the process of fragmentation that was already well underway.

It's not hard to see an element of collective sadism in the warmongering, of popular identification with televised mayhem—and, simultaneously, a self-flattering sympathy for the refugees (whose plight NATO greatly worsened). It's also not hard to see an element of what was described in a leaked 1995 Pentagon planning document as the benefits of appearing to potential enemies as "irrational and vindictive," "potentially 'out of control'"—a strategy that goes back at least to the 1960s.

But not even Bill Clinton could spend billions on a war without an imperial rationale. Clearly, NATO is being repositioned as a "global zapping force," in Tariq Ali's phrase, marginalizing the UN. The rechristened NATO will keep Western Europe bound to the U.S. in a subordinate role, and with Eastern Europe at a lower level of subordination, giving the U.S. and its allies a military presence right up to the Russian border—a nice place to be, should Russia ever rise from its deathbed. To achieve that vision, people will have to die, as more than one laptop bombardier has said. Other people, that is.

—Doug Henwood

BOMB THE *NEW YORK TIMES*?

NATO spokespersons have justified the bombing of Serbian TV and radio on the grounds that these broadcasters are an "instrument of state propaganda," tell lies, spew forth hatred, provide no "balance" in their offerings, and thus help prolong the war. In an April 8th news briefing NATO Air Commodore David Wilby explained: "Serb radio is an instrument of propaganda and repression. It has filled the airwaves with hate and with lies over the years, and especially now. It is therefore a legitimate target in this campaign. If President Milosevic would provide equal time for Western news broadcasts in his programs without censorship...then his TV would become an acceptable instrument of public information."

The mainstream U.S. media have accepted this NATO rationale for silencing the Serbian media, viewing themselves as truth-tellers and supporters of just policies against the evil enemy. But this is the long-standing self-deception of people whose propaganda service is as complete as that of Serbian state broadcasters. Just as they did during the Persian Gulf war, the mainstream media once again serve as cheer-leaders and propagandists for "our" side. And as the brief review below shows, on NATO principles the Times et al. are eminently bombable.

Balance

The Serbian media is bombable, says Wilby, because it has not provided "equal time" to western broadcasters. This ludicrous criterion is far better met by the Serbian media than by those of the U.S. (or Britain). An estimated one-third or more of Belgrade residents watch western TV news broadcasts (including CNN, BBC, and Britain's Sky News), and many Serbs watch CNN for advance warning of bombing raids. This greatly exceeds the proportion of U.S. citizens who have access to dissident foreign messages, and domestic dissent here is marginalized. *FAIR's* May 5 study "Slanted Sources in Newshour and Nightline Kosovo Coverage" showed that only 8 percent of its participants were critical of the bombing campaign, far below the Wilby standard for Serbia.

Spewing hatred

The demonization of Milosevic, the shameless use of the plight of Albanian refugees to stoke hatred and justify NATO violence, and the near-reflexive use of words like "genocide" and "ethnic cleansing" surely competes with anything that the "state-controlled" Serbian media have served up. As with the earlier demonization of Saddam Hussein, *Newsweek* placed Milosevic on its cover titled "The Face of Evil" (April 19),

Times Foreign Affairs columnist Thomas Friedman has repeatedly called for the direct killing of Serbian civilians--"less than surgical bombing" and "sustained unreasonable bombing"--as a means of putting pressure on the Yugoslavian government (April 6, 9, 23, May 4 and 11), which amounts to urging NATO to commit war crimes.

while *Time* showed the demon's face with an assassin's crosshairs centered between his eyes (April 5). A State Department official has acknowledged that "the demonization of Milosevic is necessary to maintain the air attacks" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, March 30, 1999), and the media have responded.

Times Foreign Affairs columnist Thomas Friedman has repeatedly called for the direct killing of Serbian civilians—"less than surgical bombing" and "sustained unreasonable bombing"—as a means of putting pressure on the Yugoslavian government (April 6, 9, 23, May 4 and 11), which amounts to urging NATO to commit war crimes. If Serb broad-

casters were openly calling for slaughtering Kosovo Albanians the media would surely regard this as proving Serb barbarism.

Evading or suppressing inconvenient facts and issues

Because the NATO attack is in violation of the UN Charter, the mainstream media have set this issue aside, although in 1990, when George Bush could mobilize a Security Council vote for his war, he stated that he acted on behalf of a world "where the rule of law supplants the rule of the jungle." In 1990 it was awkward that Bush had appeased Saddam Hussein before his invasion of Kuwait, so the media buried that fact; in 1999 the media rarely mention that Clinton supported the massive Croatian ethnic cleansing of Serbs in 1995 or that he has consistently ignored Turkey's repression of Kurds (with Turkey actually providing bases for NATO bombing attacks on Yugoslavia).

The Big Lie of NATO's humanitarian aim

That this is a lie is demonstrated by the terrible effects of NATO policy on the purported beneficiaries; by the fact that these negative consequences were seen as likely by intelligence and military officials, which didn't affect their willingness to "take a chance"; by NATO's continuation of the policy even as evidence of its catastrophic effects mounted; by NATO's methods, which have included the destruction of the Serb's civilian infrastructure and the use of delayed action cluster bombs and depleted uranium shells that could make Kosovo uninhabitable; and by NATO's failure to prepare for the induced refugee crisis and its unwillingness to accept more than nominal numbers of refugees.

NATO's official responses to repeated civilian casualties from its bombing attacks have been notably lacking in human sympathy. British journalist Robert Fisk was appalled by a NATO press conference of May 14, the day after 87 ethnic Albanians were

"ripped apart" by NATO bombs at Korisa. NATO spokesmen Jamie Shea and Major-General Walter Jertz "informed us 'It was another very effective day of operations'." There was "not a single bloody word of astonishment or compassion." (*The Independent* [London], May 15, 1999). This response of NATO officials was not mentioned, let alone featured, in the U.S. media.

Thanks to the scale of the refugee crisis, the U.S. media have been unable to avoid reporting that the NATO bombing has been followed by catastrophic effects. But while some commentators have declared the policy a failure and have castigated the administration for it, most have followed the official line of blaming all of these nasty developments on Milosevic. They have focused intently and uncritically on alleged Serb abuses, all allegedly "deliberate," whereas NATO killings and damage are slighted, and when unavoidably reported are allowed to be "errors."

The Big Lie about the "failure" of diplomacy

As with Kosovo, during the Persian Gulf war experience the media accepted that the enemy has refused to negotiate, thus compelling military action. Although Bush himself stated repeatedly that there would be no negotiations—"no reward for aggression"—and that Iraq must surrender, the media pretended that the U.S. was laboring to "go the extra mile for peace," while they suppressed information on numerous rejected peace offers. Thomas Friedman, after acknowledging that Bush strove to block off diplomacy lest negotiations "defuse the crisis" (Aug. 22, 1990), subsequently reported that "diplomacy has failed and it has come to war" (Jan. 20, 1991), without mentioning that the diplomatic failure was intentional.

In the case of the NATO war on Yugoslavia, the official position is that Yugoslavia refused NATO's reasonable offer at Rambouillet, and that Milosevic's intransigence thus forced NATO to bomb. This is a Big Lie—NATO's offer was never reasonable, requiring Yugoslavia to accept not only full occupying power rights by NATO in Kosovo—a part of Yugoslavia—but also NATO's right to "free and unrestricted pas-

sage and unimpeded access" throughout Yugoslavia. The Serbs had indicated a definite willingness to allow a military presence in Kosovo, but not by NATO and certainly not with NATO authority to occupy all of Yugoslavia. NATO would not negotiate on these matters and issued an ultimatum to Yugoslavia that no sovereign state could accept.

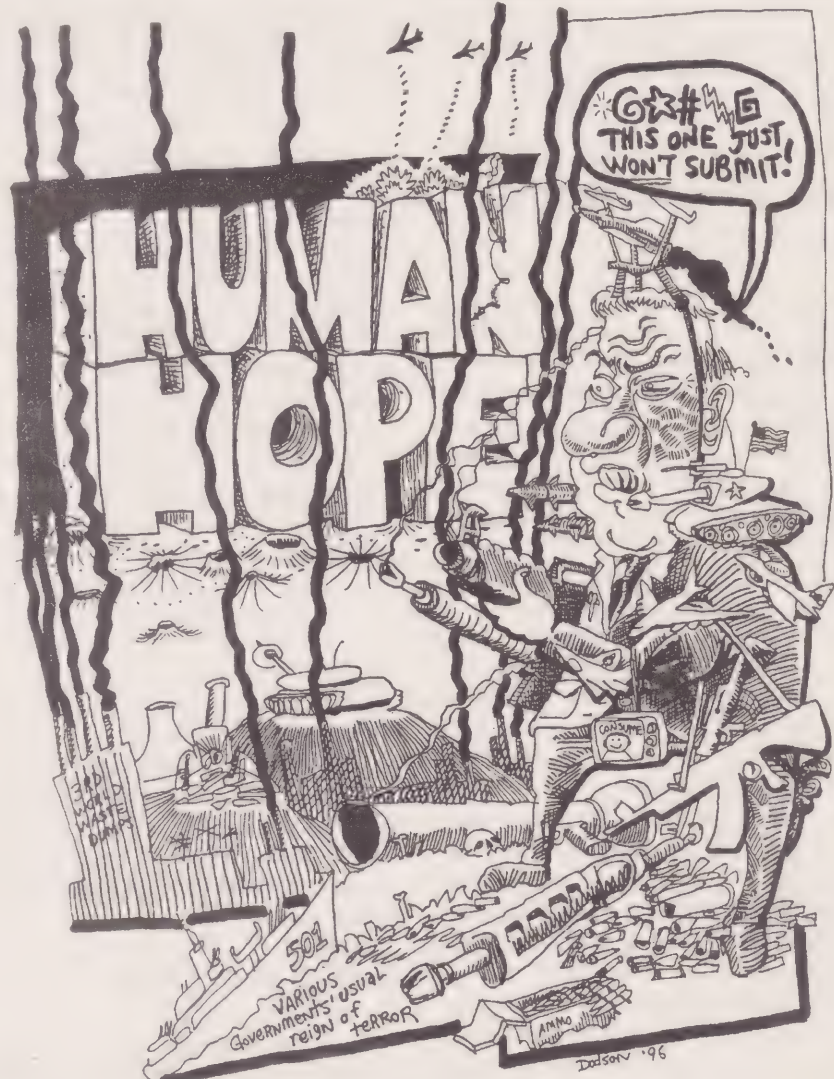
As in the Persian Gulf war case, however, the mainstream U.S. media accepted the official line that the bombing resulted from a Serbian refusal of a reasonable offer after "extensive and repeated efforts to obtain a peaceful solution" (Clinton). The Serb position and the continued Serb willingness to negotiate on who would be included in the occupying forces was essentially ignored or deemed unreasonable; the ultimatum aspect of the process was considered of no importance; and the fact that the ultimatum required Yugoslavia to agree to virtual occupation of the entire state by NATO was suppressed.

The NATO position, as the Bush position in the Persian Gulf war, was surrender, not negotiate. And the media today, as then, pretend that we are eager to negotiate with a mulish enemy.

In sum, the propaganda service of the mainstream U.S. media to the Kosovo war would be hard to surpass, and on NATO principles the *New York Times* and its confreres are eminently bombable. But as usual, for the U.S. and NATO powers international law and moral principles apply only to others. To the Godfather and his flunkies, an entirely different set of principles applies.

—Edward S. Herman and David Peterson

"Bomb the New York Times?" first appeared in ZNet Commentary, a daily e-mail commentary from the folks at Z Magazine which can be found at www.zmag.org. The commentary program is available for a donation of \$10/month (\$5/month for low-income). You can sign up at www.zmag.org/commentaries/donorform.htm



How the US State Dept. Recruited Human Rights Groups to Cheer On the Bombing Raids

Two-Bit Pricks

"We're not inflicting pain on these fuckers," Clinton said, softly at first. 'When people kill us, they should be killed in greater numbers.' Then, with his face reddening, his voice rising, and his fist pounding his thigh, he leaned into Tony [Lake, then his national security adviser], as if it was his fault. 'I believe in killing people who try to hurt you.. And I can't believe we're being pushed around by these two-bit pricks.'"

—Clinton ordering the bombing of civilian targets in Somalia, as quoted in *All Too Human*, George Stephanopoulos

Those Incubator Babies, Once More?

As the US stepped up its bombing raids against Yugoslavia, Harold Koh, assistant secretary of state for democracy, human rights and labor, called the leaders of several US human rights groups to a hastily arranged meeting at his offices in Foggy Bottom. Koh started the session by telling the groups' leaders, who included Amnesty International-USA's head Dr. William Schulz, that he was sorry that the administration could not support the extradition of Pinochet. He stressed that while Madeleine Albright cared deeply about human rights matters, the Defense Department had quashed the idea. But, Koh said, there was good news. Albright had convinced the Defense Department and Clinton that human rights concerns should be the driving force behind the bombing of the Serbs. Koh said he hoped the human rights groups would enthusiastically support the mission and promised that if they did, Albright might even meet with them in person in the near future.

Amnesty International has obediently hopped to State's tune, saying in a press release "violations of human rights lie at the

heart of the current conflict in Kosovo, and have done so ever since it developed during the 1980s. It is therefore essential that the effective protection and promotion of human rights should be the centerpiece of any agreement to be reached on Kosovo." On March 29, the group called for increases in military intelligence operations on the ground in Kosovo. Human Rights Watch has also pressed the cause of military intervention, using their *Kosovo Human Rights Flash* to draw attention to Serbian abuses. After a week of unrelenting missile attacks in Yugoslavia and Kosovo, none of the Human Rights Watch reports included any tallies of civilian casualties from the NATO bombings. Care Yugoslavia, an Australian humanitarian aide group, said that over the first week, NATO bombing raids had killed at least 15 ethnic Kosovars, when its bombs hit a refugee camp

A person who attended the meeting tells *CounterPunch* he was shocked that many of the leaders endorsed Koh's rationale. "Human rights is just another affinity cause to be used by Clinton and Albright when it suits them, rather than consistently and broadly," he said. "Indeed, human rights concerns could be used as an excuse for extra-legal military actions that bypass the security council and/or Congress."

Readers may recall that one particularly successful propaganda campaign against Iraq saw US government operatives using Amnesty International to advance the false and easily disprovable story that Iraqis had murdered over 300 Kuwaiti babies in August, 1990, by tossing them out of their incubators and letting them die on the floor. It's not at issue here whether or not Iraqi or Serb forces are brutal. It's a matter of how human rights organizations willingly become instruments of state policy. Somalia offers a particularly vivid example of this.

NATO, Sieg Heil!

It's bracing to see the Germans taking part in NATO's bombing. It lends moral tone to

an operation to have the grandsons of the Third Reich willing, able and eager, to drop high explosive again, in this instance on the Serbs. To add symmetry to the affair, the last time Serbs in Belgrade had high explosives dropped on them was in 1941 by the sons of the Third Reich. To bring even deeper symmetry, the German political party whose leader, Schroeder, ordered German participation in the bombing is that of the Social Democrats, whose great grand-fathers enthusiastically voted credits to wage war in 1914, to the enormous disgust of Lenin, who never felt quite the same way about social democrats ever after. Whether in Germany or England or France all social democratic parties in 1914 tossed aside previous pledges against war, thus helping produce the first great bloodletting of our century. Today, with social democrats leading governments across Europe-Schroeder, Blair, Jospin, Prodi-all fall in behind Clinton. This is, largely, a war most earnestly supported by liberals and many so-called leftists.

There's been some patronizing talk here about the Serbs' deep sense of "grievance" at the way history has treated them, with the implication that the Serbs are irrational in this regard. But it's scarcely irrational to remember that Nazi Germany bombed Belgrade in the Second World War, or that Germany's prime ally in the region, Croatia, ran a concentration camp at Jasenovac where tens of thousands of Serbs—along with Jews and gypsies—were liquidated. Nor is it irrational to recall that Germany in more recent years has been an unrelenting assailant of the former Yugoslav federation, encouraging Slovenia to secede and lending determined support to Croatia, in gratitude for which Croatia adopted, on independence in 1991, the German hymn, "Danke Deutschland."

So much for Serb feelings about Germany. Serbia has some reason to feel similar resentment towards the United States. The biggest single ethnic cleansing of the mid-1990s in the former Yugoslavia was conducted by Croatia under the supervision of the United States, whose military generals and CIA of-

ficers issued targeting instructions to Croatian artillery for the ethnic clearing. The targets were Serbs, living in Serbian territory, in the Krajina. Heading the Croatian cleansers was president Franjo Tudjman, who has rehabbed Nazi war criminals. Yet somehow it is Serbia's Milosevic who is demonized here as Hitler.

In 1999 Bill Clinton more or less left the UN's secretary general, Kofi Annan, to find out from CNN about NATO's decision to bomb. The US game, abetted chiefly by Blair's UK, is to make NATO the arbiter of Europe's borders and "security", and to boycott the UN as a forum.

The twentieth-century illusion of air power is once again being exposed. Now come demands for ground troops and a route march into deeper madness, wider killing and misery. The only chance is rising protest from Americans, from the world community, from dissident countries in NATO with calls for a cease-fire and a genuine, UN peace-keeping force in Kosovo with no troops from the contending parties and their allies. Absent that, why not a drive for impeachment of Bill Clinton, on serious grounds at last, for abusing Congress's war-making powers and also his sworn duty to uphold the international treaties to which the US has set its name."

Pick the Warmonger

A quiz: Which US rep said: "At this point I support the NATO sponsored air-strikes that are currently taking place." And which US rep said: "This is not a proud moment for America...as bad as the violence is towards the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, our ability to police and stop all ethnic fighting around the world is quite limited, and the efforts are quite simply not permitted under constitutional law." Yes, the first is from the brass-lunged armchair bomber of Vermont, Bernard Sanders and the second from Ron Paul, libertarian from Texas. How long will the long-suffering progressives of Vermont tolerate their hypocritical rep without rebuke?

—Counterpunch

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Dismantling Former Yugoslavia

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structive "economic model" imposed under the neoliberal agenda on national societies throughout the World...

ENDNOTES

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15. For further details see World Bank, Yugoslavia, Industrial Restructuring, p. 38.
16. Ibid., p. 38.
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18. Ibid., p. 33

19. Ibid, p. 34. Data of the Federal Secretariat for Industry and Energy, Of the total number of firms, 222 went bankrupt and 26 were liquidated.
20. Ibid., p. 33. These figures include bankruptcy and liquidation.
21. Ibid, p. 34.
22. Dimitrije Boarov, op. cit.
23. World Bank, Industrial Restructuring p. 13. Annex 1, p. 1.
24. "Surplus labour" in industry had been assessed by the World Bank mission to be of the order of 20 percent of the total labour force of 8.9 million,—ie. approximately 1.8 million. This figure seems, however, to grossly underestimate the actual number of redundant workers based on the categorisation of "insolvent" enterprises. Solely in the industrial sector, there were 1.9 million workers (September 1990) out of 2.7 million employed in enterprises classified as insolvent. See World Bank, Yugoslavia, Industrial Restructuring, Annex 1.
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TWENTY REASONS WHY NATO'S WAR SUCKS

1

Even the Secretary of State isn't sure what we're doing in Yugoslavia. Madeleine Albright earlier this week said that NATO just wanted to "Send Milosevic a message." When a pool reporter pointed out that she had earlier said that the NATO goal was to STOP Milosevic, she hesitated and said, "That, too."

2

The Serbs were behaving with relative restraint in Kosovo last year (by Balkan standards) until we started bombing Serbia. Then they decided they had nothing to lose, and started driving Albanians out in earnest. Wasn't this what we were trying to prevent?

3

These endless comparisons of thugs like Milosevic to Adolf Hitler insult the public's intelligence and cheapen the special, awful legacy of WWII. Before America started calling Milosevic a new Hitler, it used the same tactic to demonize everyone from Saddam Hussein to Manuel Noriega to Osama bin Laden to the Ayatollah Khomeini to Fidel Castro—we at the eXile even found an American-owned newspaper in Africa which, in complete earnest, compared Kenneth Starr to the Fuhrer. Gore Vidal put it this way: "The CIA's demonizing process is fascinating, swift, unvarying. Each demon admires Hitler. Keeps a copy of *Mein Kampf* beside his bed." Hitler killed six million Jews; he made lampshades out of little children; he tried to take over the entire world. Milosevic is a monster, but he's not close to a record like that. Comparing Milosevic

to Hitler proves that the U.S. government no longer trusts its citizens to make real moral distinctions.

4

If ethnic massacres bother us so much, why didn't we send troops to stop the massacre of a half-million Tutsi in Rwanda? Why did we back the Russian bloodbath in Chechnya? Why did the US defend Pol Pot when the Vietnamese interrupted his autogenocide? What's happening in Kosovo is a parking-lot scuffle compared to these horrors, so why are we going in?

5

This war has revealed the American media to be a more effective conduit for state propaganda than the state-controlled press of the Soviet Union.

6

NATO committed a series of rhetorical blasphemies to drum up support for the action. Here's one word they shouldn't have used, but did:

Genocide. (*n*) *The systematic, planned extermination of a racial or ethnic group. (Greek: genos, race + -CIDE, Latin: caedere, to kill).*

On March 29th, British Defense Minister George Robertson said: "We are confronting a regime which is intent on genocide," while German Defense Minister Rudolf Scharping said on the same day that the Serbs were committing a genocide. Folks, in a genocide, you don't let a single refugee go. You kill every single one of them,

either out of hatred or because you fear they might come back some day. The Serbs don't qualify.

Just so we don't forget, "genocide" means to kill everyone in a race. The Serbs are doing something else: savagely expelling a hostile ethnic group from territory it claims as its own. There are many precedents for this. In 1945, the Czechs expelled over two million ethnic Germans from the Sudetenland, causing horrific human tragedies in the name of ethnically cleansing their nation. No one called that a genocide. It was evil and horrible, but it wasn't a genocide. As of this past Tuesday, the UN was using words like "extreme brutality and ruthlessness," and "mass deportations" to describe the Serb actions, while Britain had toned it down to "brutal ethnic cleansing." This week, now that the West might be forced to take in refugees exactly because they've falsely raised the moral stakes so high, the word "genocide" has been dropped, meaning we can intern them behind barbed-wire at Guantanamo Bay with a clear conscience.

7

NATO's bombing violates both the UN charter and NATO treaty itself. Article 2, section 7 of the UN Charter expressly forbids UN intervention "in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state...." Both the United States and NATO are signatories to the UN Charter and bound by it under international law. By bombing Serbia without first getting Security Council approval, NATO broke the law. Making them war criminals. Not that we expect NATO to try itself in the Hague...

8

It sounds like an old issue, but it's still valid: the United States Constitution prohibits the use of military force without a 2/3 majority vote in both houses of congress, except in cases of emergency. That Presidents have in this half of this century done so in Korea, Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, Grenada, Panama, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Sudan, among others, does not make it right or even legal. As congressman Tom Campbell (R-CA), a former Stanford law professor, said last week in voicing his objections to yet another "undeclared" war: "Previous constitutional violations do not justify subsequent ones."

9

Despite its moral posturing about Serb ethnic cleansing, NATO itself has provided air cover for the same kinds of atrocities it now accuses the Serbs of committing. In 1995, NATO planes, responding to what many now suspect was a Bosnian-government-staged massacre of Muslim civilians, attacked and crippled the Bosnian Serb army with punishing air assaults. At the same time, a massive two-pronged ground assault was unleashed on the Serbs both from Croatia into Serb-populated Krajina and from the Muslim-Croat alliance into Serb-populated regions of central and west Bosnia. Nearly all of Croatia's 600,000 Serbs were brutally expelled, fulfilling Ante Pavelic's Ustashe dream. Several hundred thousand more Bosnian Serbs were uprooted in the Croat-Muslim offensive within Bosnia. Altogether, in a matter of weeks, up to a million Serbs were ethnically cleansed. No one knows how many died.

10

The war marks the return of liberal war-mongers. You thought they became extinct

in 1968, but you were wrong. NATO head Javier Solana was a Marxist, Socialist and anti-NATO demonstrator up to the mid-80s; Tony Blair leads the once-left-wing Labor Party; Clinton burned his draft card; Gerhard Schroeder is a Socialist, and his Foreign Minister a Greens Party sellout; French Premier Lionel Jospin is a Socialist; and vermicelli-spined hawk Italian Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema heads the most left-wing government in Italian history. A horrifying bunch of Eurofags trying to pass themselves off as pinstriped



"realists". In other words, meet the New Left, same as the Old Left. America has plenty of its own liberal war groupies, too. Ever on the Easter Egg hunt for an easily-defeatable Hitler to smash, America's liberals thought they'd found it in Milosevic. Now that the air war has failed (no duh!), they're crying for a ground war. Among the more conspicuous: Former avuncular nice guy Mark Shields, who now praises Clinton for showing "courage" in flouting popular opinion by bombing the Serbs, and called on him to prepare Americans for

some serious slaughter. Other pampered liberals screaming to throw American kids into a Kosovo ground war include Sen. Joe Biden, Joseph Lieberman and Charles Robb. What these liberals never understand is that no matter how bravely they rattle America's military saber, they'll never, ever be feared or respected by anyone but their page boys.

11

Bill Clinton reportedly said "We can't lose this one" at a White House policy meeting a few nights into the bombing, providing an ugly insight into the extent to which Americans view the entire world, and their role in it, as a sports contest. This is just one more reason why the rest of the world has gradually come to hate America's guts—because military action is a game for Americans, who have nothing but their careers on the line, while for people in other countries—not just for Serbia, but for Albania, Montenegro, Croatia, Macedonia, even for Italy and the rest of the countries neighboring the Balkans—this is a life-or-death situation. How do you think people in these countries like to see Clinton fretting about losing "this one"?

12

What's all this "we," anyway? Are you planning to join up in time to take part in the first wave of the attack on Kosovo? If not, then drop the "we" stuff. One of the worst verbal consequences of the war is that people who have no intention of volunteering to fight in Kosovo will use the pronoun "we" to describe the NATO forces, saying things like "We kicked some ass!" when discussing the war. Anyone using "we" to describe the NATO forces in Kosovo should be forcibly inducted and sent to the front.

Continued on page 61

ISRAEL 50 YEARS OF CONQUEST

David Watson



Fifth Estate published this essay to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the state of Israel. It is a substantially revised version of two articles written in the wake of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 ("The Israeli Massacre—Peace in Galilee?" and "Latin American Terror: The Israeli Connection") that appeared in the Fall 1982 *Fifth Estate* (now out of print). Both were written by David Watson for the special edition which included Fredy Perlman's "Anti-Semitism and The Beirut Pogrom." *Fifth Estate* is an anti-technology, anti-civilization, anarcho-primitivist quarterly now in its 33rd year of publication. This essay has been reprinted from the Winter 1998 issue. Subscriptions are \$8 for 4 issues from *Fifth Estate*, 632 Second Ave., Detroit, MI 48201.

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hen the founder of organized zionism, Theodore Herzl, proposed to create a European Jewish state in the Middle East as "an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism," he was acting within a long tradition rooted in the rise of the ancient slave-state empires.

This imperial program became predominant with the rise of capitalism and its expansion first into the heaths of Europe (home of "heathens" to be conquered, christianized and civilized by the developing state powers across the continent) and later to the other inhabited continents of the world where these civilized men—explorers, missionaries, marauders, and colonizers—spread their empire.

The enterprise which all of these pyramid-builders undertook was and is nothing less than a war upon the wilderness of the other: the subjugation of nature and of "savage" peoples, the ordering and quantification of the universe, the victory of production over idleness, the construction of the Perfect State. The attitude of empire builders is always the same, no matter where they find themselves, in the lushest forest or the most arid and desert. It is all "wasteland" to be subdued, dominated, transformed into energy and commodities.

Once embarked upon the imperial project, the Jewish colonists in Palestine—many themselves once members of a little tribe slated for extermination by capitalism's robot mass-men—embraced all of its attributes. For the zionist settlers, Palestine in their political mythology a "land without people for a people without land"—was a wasteland and wilderness to be conquered, and the inhabitants would have to submit, go elsewhere, or be annihilated. Their dream of manifest destiny required it, just as the imperial dreams of the Spanish conquistadors, English Puritans, and the Afrikaners had earlier required it.

In his revealing introduction to Yaakov Morris' book *Masters of the Desert* (1961), Israeli founder and the country's first Prime Minister, David Ben Gurion, sums up this spirit of conquest in his discussion of the Negev Desert. "The reclamation of the Negev Desert," he writes, "has more than local interest, vital as that interest may be to the State of Israel itself. Here, man is faced with a fateful and momentous challenge of nature. To conquer the wastelands, all his will and devotion, labor and energy, time-tested as well as newly invented techniques of science, will have to be employed ... The Negev, in short, is in many respects a small and modest pilot plant in mankind's over-all battle against the desert regions anywhere."

Not only does Ben-Gurion repeat the rhetoric of the early settlers of the North American continent, he repeats the formula for his success by drawing a portrait of capital itself. "The contemporary civilization advancing into the Negev embodies many of the characteristics of those which have appeared in the past. It is based as they were upon a combination of agriculture, industry, mining and international trade, the settlement of large units of population, the combination of settlement and defense. The heritage of the past is here being enriched with the conquests of modern science and technology." The project of Israeli capitalist development—successful settlement and economic expansion—cannot be achieved, of course, "without the transformation of the facts of nature," he adds. "Science and pioneering will enable us to perform this miracle."

All of the elements are present science and technology, industrialism and trade, urbanism, defense—all summed up in one word: pioneering. Of course the battle of the pioneer against the wilderness is also a struggle against the human fauna which is inevitably present in it. Here too, the Israeli model follows the general rule, be it in the development of the Negev for economic and military purposes (and a veritable war against the Bedouin tribespeople who have resided there for millennia), or in the conquest of significantly more settled areas, such as the towns, farms and

orchards stolen wholesale by the Israeli colonial-settler state. As Ben-Gurion insists, "To maintain the status quo will not do. We have set up a dynamic state bent on expansion." (See box.)

"An outpost of civilization"

Contrary to liberal pro-zionist mystifications that it is only this season's wave of brutality against the indigenous population that squander Israel's "moral capital," the drama of fascist settlers in the West Bank and what is more or less the ethnic cleansing of Arab Jerusalem is no aberration. Israel was established from the beginning on a racist, nationalist ideology of Jewish "manifest destiny." In this regard, Zionism is an integral part of the nineteenth century development of reactionary nationalist movements—and its revenge. The Jews, stateless, landless victims of every European nationalism, were themselves eventually unleashed on others as an advance guard of imperialism in the Middle East. As the Situationist International commented in 1967:

"Since its origins the Zionist movement has been the contrary of the revolutionary solution to what used to be called the Jewish Question. A direct product of European capitalism, it did not aim at the overthrow of a society that needed to persecute Jews, but at the creation of a Jewish national entity that would be protected from the antisemitic aberrations of decadent capitalism; it aimed not at the abolition of injustice, but at its transfer... The success of Zionism and its corollary, the creation of the state of Israel, is merely a miserable by-product of the triumph of world counter-revolution. To 'socialism in a single country' came the echo 'justice for a single people' and 'equality in a single kibbutz.'

"It was with Rothschild capital that the colonization of Palestine was organized and with European surplus-value that the first kibbutzim were set up. The Jews recreated for themselves all the fanaticism and segregation of which they had been victims. Those who had suffered mere toleration in their society were to struggle to

become in another country owners disposing of the right to tolerate others. The prolonged sleep of proletarian internationalism once more brought forth a monster. The basic injustice against the Palestinian Arabs came back to roost with the Jews themselves: the State of the Chosen People was nothing but one more class society in which all the anomalies of the old societies were recreated. . ." ("Two Local Wars," October 1967, in *The Situationist International Anthology*)

The career of Theodore Herzl, founder of the organized world zionist movement, shows clearly the bourgeois nationalist and colonialist nature of Zionism. Herzl spent his life petitioning the various heads of Europe, including Bismarck, British imperialist architect Cecil Rhodes, the Czar of Russia and his pogromist minister Von Plehve, the Pope and the Turkish Sultan for funds and support to create a Jewish settler state in Palestine. Such a project would serve two fundamental purposes: it would siphon off the revolutionary Jewish masses and create a European outpost in the Middle East, where the Zionist state would "form a portion of the rampart of Europe against Asia, an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism," as Herzl put it in his 1896 book, *A Jewish State*.

This imperialist bulwark took the same form in Palestine in relation to the original inhabitants that such projects did everywhere (e.g. South Africa, Rhodesia and the Americas), confirming radical anthropologist Stanley Diamond's famous definition of civilization, *as conquest abroad and repression at home*. And the colonization process was the same. Ahad Ha'am, famous Jewish writer, noted in 1891 on visit to Palestine, that the Jewish settlers there "treat the Arabs with hostility and cruelty, deprive them of their rights, offend them without cause and even boast of these deeds; and nobody among us opposes this despicable inclination."

Origins of the zionist state

In 1907, the Hebrew journal *Ha Shiloah* observed, "Unless we want to deceive ourselves deliberately, we have to admit that

we have thrown people out of their miserable lodgings and taken away their sustenance." The German socialist politician Karl Kautsky noted in 1921, "Little more attention was paid to the Arabs than was paid to the Indians in North America." Employing land purchases from absentee landlords, the Jewish settlers forced small farmers and sharecroppers off land they had inhabited for generations.

At the end of World War I, Palestine was nearly 95 percent Palestinian-Arab, but by 1929, money from Europe, support from Great Britain, and land purchases and provocations had already driven almost 2,000 Palestinian families from their land. By 1940, Yoseph Weitz, head of the Jewish Agency Settlement Department, commented, "Between ourselves, it must be clear that there is no room

in this country for both peoples ...the only solution is Eretz Israel [Greater Israel], at least the Western Israel [west of the Jordan River], without Arabs, and there is no other way but to transfer them all—not one village, not one tribe should be left" (cited by Noam Chomsky in his book, *Peace In the Middle East*). During the 1948 War, three quarters of a million people were driven from their homes by armed Zionist settlers; the newly formed state quickly employed its Absentee Property Law to dispossess thousands of their land, their shops, and their orchards. Of the approximately four hundred Jewish settlements established after 1948, some 350 were on Palestinian refugee property. Two-thirds of cultivated land was originally Palestinian-owned. As Don Peretz noted in the September 1969 issue of the Israeli magazine *New Outlook*, as a result of the 1948 War:

"Whole Arab cities—such as Jaffa, Acre, Lydda, Ramle, Baysan, and Maida—338 towns and villages, and large parts of others, containing nearly a quarter of all buildings standing in Israel

during 1948, were taken over by new Jewish immigrants. Ten thousand former Arab shops, businesses and stores were left in Jewish hands as well as some 30,000 acres of groves that supplied at least a quarter of the new state's scarce foreign currency



Israeli soldiers beat an unarmed Palestinian during a two-minute period of silence protesting celebrations of the founding of Israel, known to Palestinians as At Naqbah (the catastrophe). Not one shows the slightest evidence of dismay or sympathy, only cruelty and inhumanity; characterologically, what distinguishes these men from German Nazis? Photo: New York Times

earnings from citrus. Acquisition of this former Palestinian Arab property helped greatly to make the Jewish state economically viable and to speed up the early influx of refugees and immigrants from Europe."

Israeli military leader Moshe Dayan observed afterward, in 1969, "There is not a single Jewish settlement that was not established in the place of a former Arab village." By 1958, a quarter of a million acres of land had been expropriated from Palestinians who had remained in Israel. This same genocidal, culturcidal policy remains in operation today.

Zionist propaganda, on the other hand, has always portrayed Palestine as an uninhabited desert before the arrival of the Jews, a racist-nationalist mystique typified, for example, by the notorious declaration made by the American-born Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir, who declared, "It is not as though there was a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist." In reality the

Zionist invaders "made the desert bloom" by stealing the villages, orchards, gardens and pastures from their original owners—a desert that had been in bloom for centuries. The well-known, often-repeated tale among Palestinians of a grandparent, or uncle or aunt, who went into exile carrying a few seeds from the family garden, is testimony to the world and the dreams the people driven from their homes left behind.

A Palestinian state?

Zionist ideology exploited the legitimate desires of the Jewish people to escape the cauldron of violence and extermination in Europe that brought about the annihilation of millions of their brethren. The ghastly irony of the search for security in the

creation of a national state on plundered lands was that such a situation was bound to create greater and greater dangers and insecurities with higher stakes at every turn. Not only did Zionism become the blighted mirror image of all the oppressive national state ideologies which immiserated and murdered the Jews, it set the stage for never-ending insecurity within a garrison state constantly threatened by surrounding hostile nation-states which saw it as an incursion into their own national or Pan-Arab designs.

Zionism also generated another wave of victims, its own demonized outsiders, who will continue to challenge the legitimacy of Israeli manifest destiny as long as they exist as a people, however dispersed and despised they may be. The efforts of these new victims of diaspora to return to and regain their ancestral lands have at times been peaceful, at times violent, sometimes reasonable and "other-times murderous. The colonial hubris of the Israeli state and betrayals by the neighboring reactionary Arab regimes gave

birth to a Palestinian nationalist movement which became the mirror image of zionism, similar in its nationalist ideology, its dependence on various nation-states for support, and its methods of military struggle and terrorism. Eventually, two national movements came to face each other, arms in hand: one powerful, with an army and police and nuclear arsenal, and the backing of the world's most powerful imperialist nation; the other outgunned, betrayed by all its backers, marginalized and desperate.

Of course, media images and zionist propaganda notwithstanding, Palestinians have overall been far more the *victims* of terror and violence than the perpetrators in this feud. To give a couple of examples, when Palestinian Black September commandos took Israeli athletes hostage in Munich during the 1972 Olympics, a shootout ensued with West German police in which the Palestinians and eleven Israelis were killed. The Israeli state immediately carried out reprisal air raids against Palestinian refugee camps in southern Lebanon which killed three hundred people. While 192 Israelis were killed during the Palestinian Intifada on the West Bank, more than 1300 Palestinians were killed by Israeli soldiers and settlers.

As PLO columns were being evacuated from Beirut after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and terror bombing of its capital in 1982, Israeli Prime Minister Menachim Begin declared to a group of American Jews in Jerusalem, "Very soon the fighting will be finished, and then perhaps that famous verse from the Book of Judges will be brought into realization: 'There shall be peace in the land for forty years.'" But neither the Israeli military "final solution" of the Palestinian problem in Beirut nor the peace treaty with Arafat more than a decade later have resolved the fundamental conflict. During the 1980s the Palestinian popular resistance that became the Intifada, much of it outside official PLO control, forced the Israeli state to the bargaining table as no terrorism or guerrilla warfare had. But a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza under the present configuration of

Israel and the Death Squad Dictatorships: "Best Friends"

In the Negev Desert, Israeli "Green Patrols" employed military intimidation and violence to force the Bedouins off their ancestral lands into closed areas similar to Indian reservations. In fact, all Palestinian areas have more and more come to resemble reservations of South African bantustans, a situation which has only been exacerbated by the Oslo Accords. Israel's resemblance to the English colonial expansion in the Americas is notable; thus it should come as no surprise that Israel has also been one of the largest suppliers of arms to Latin American death squad regimes, often functioning as a proxy for the U.S. when political pressure made direct arms aid impossible. Israel's customers have included El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Chile, Argentina, Bolivia and Haiti, and have generated billions of dollars in profit.

Israeli aid to Guatemala and El Salvador, countries, whose rulers waged open genocidal war against Indian and mestizo campesinos throughout the 1960s, 70s and 80s, has been particularly extensive. According to the International Institute for the Investigation of Peace, Israel was the sole provider of weapons to Guatemala in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

These weapons included Arava planes, piloted and maintained by Israeli pilots and technicians; light artillery weapons, including mortars, bazookas and grenade launchers; Galil rifles (long the weapon of choice of Central American death squad regimes), for which the U.S. supplied five million cartridges; a tactical communications system; and at the end of 1980, a radar system, installed and controlled by Israeli technicians. Israel also provided the Guatemalan military with training in political terrorism and counter insurgency, intelligence and psychological, warfare; trained the

Salvadoran "ORDEN" death squads on a site in Guatemala; and helped the Guatemalan dictatorship to set up a computerized "Regional Telecommunications Center" managed by Israeli technicians, which provided the Guatemalan death squads with one of their most formidable weapons—computerized lists of potential targets.

In November 1981, at the opening of the Army Electronics and Transmission School, General Benedicto Lucas Garcia thanked Israel for its assistance in this advancement made in Guatemalan technology, to which the Israeli ambassador replied, "Israel considers Guatemala one of its best friends." A couple of hundred thousand people paid with their lives in the Central American holocaust for this friendship.

Israel's aid to Central American dictators dates back to its inception. When Menachem Begin was criticized for selling arms to the tottering Somoza government before its collapse in 1979, he replied, "We have a debt of gratitude with Somoza."

He was referring to an agreement made by the Israeli state in 1948 with the Nicaraguan strongman, who for the sum of \$200,000 arranged to have Yehuda Arazi (a member of the zionist clandestine army, the Haganah) named Extraordinary Ambassador of Nicaragua in Europe, where he then could buy up arms in the name of the Nicaraguan government which would not have been sold to the zionist rebels. Later, Israel repaid its debt by selling arms to the brutal regime when it was totally isolated in world opinion. Such collaboration is in keeping with Israeli cooperation with reactionary states elsewhere—Iran under the Shah, Mobutu's Zaire, the South African apartheid regime, and other dictatorships.

power can be little more than an exploited, repressive, militarily regulated reservation for cheap labor under the domination of Israel and perhaps Jordan. Indeed, since the signing of the sham peace, the Israeli state has failed even to comply with a minimum of its agreements, and has used the accords with the PLO to continue its consolidation of "Eretz Israel," while the PLO proto-state fiasco has rapidly been reduced to the status of a corrupt ghetto administration subservient to its Israeli oppressors and squeezed from the other extreme by an increasingly furious Palestinian population.

Some wit recently remarked that the Israeli-Palestinian debacle has become the longest lasting crisis in modern history, but it's a crisis unlikely to go on forever. In 1970, Nathan Yalin-Mor, a member of the Zionist terrorist Stern Gang in the 1940s who later became an advocate of Arab-Jewish reconciliation, observed, "A new selling out of the Palestinian people would amount to planting a time bomb to explode after a few years." While Israel maintains military superiority and the support of the U.S. military machine, Chomsky's warning in 1976 in *Peace in the Middle East?* Remains valid: "In general, each military success simply reconstitutes the struggle at a higher level of military force ... a higher level of potential danger to all concerned. From the Israeli point of view, this is a losing strategy. Israel can win every conflict but the last." The last, unfortunately, is likely to be a social and ecological catastrophe for the region, perhaps for the whole planet. Israeli writer Uri Avneri's warnings made thirty years ago in his book *Israel Without Zionists* (1968) come to mind in the midst of the Iraqi standoff, Iran's efforts

to modernize and nuclearize, and Israel's shadowy nuclear security state: "Nuclear weapons, missiles of all types, are nearing the Semitic scene," Avneri wrote; "... if the vicious circle is not broken, and broken soon, it will lead, with the preordained certainty of a Greek tragedy, toward a holocaust that will bury Tel Aviv

women and children, is sanctioned in Jewish scripture. "Death to the Arabs" is a common chant at the rallies of the Israeli far right, and fascist settlers have made a shrine of the grave of mass murderer Baruch Goldstein, an American rabbi who slaughtered more than fifty Arabs as they prayed in a mosque in Hebron in 1994.

While an exterminist mentality is common on the right, the mainstream is little better. Israeli courts recently approved the holding of hostages randomly taken by the Israeli military in Lebanon to be traded later, and the Likud cabinet refused to pursue an investigation of widely acknowledged Israeli military, massacres of unarmed prisoners during the 1956 and 1967 wars. Israeli General Eitan, who was implicated in the 1956 massacre of Egyptian prisoners, and who now is a leader of a right wing party, has likened Palestinians on the West Bank to "cockroaches in a bottle," and Menachim Begin called Palestinian fighters "beasts walking on two paws." Such remarks prompted Israeli peace activist Gideon Spiro,



and Cairo, Damascus and Jerusalem."

Breaking the circle

An increasingly lunatic Israeli nationalism has finally become a grotesque reification of the anti-semitic fascists who set out to annihilate Jewry earlier in this century. If humane elements desirous of peace and reconciliation remain in Israeli society (some of them courageous activists for peace who have faced murder and violence for their work), the Israeli right is little different from the fascist Serbs lately slaughtering Kosovans in their crusade to preserve their own mythic locus of national origin. Some fundamentalist Israeli rabbis openly argue that driving out and exterminating non-Jews, including

who refused to serve in the reserves in Lebanon and the West Bank, to warn against the "process of dehumanization and fascisization" of Israeli values. The Muslim fundamentalist suicide bombers are a distorted mirror image of their Zionist oppressors (and in fact serve the interests of the intransigent Zionists who look for every excuse to sabotage any kind of peace with justice for the Palestinian people).

From a radical, perspective, however unrealistic, none of the basic realities has changed since *The Bulletin for Jewish-Arab Cooperation* (cited by Chomsky) pointed out in 1948 that "... the only alternative to a war between nations is not a static peace ... but a war between classes, between ruled and ruler, of the Jewish and

Arab workers and peasants against the two upper classes, against the fascist parties of both nations, and the British or other outside interests that want to control the area." What might have been possible in 1948, or in 1967, or in 1982, when the Israeli invasion of Lebanon was protested by a significant section of the Israeli population and the country was divided dramatically over the issue of making peace with Palestinians, seems even more remote today, as the West Bank settlement crisis deepens and the Israeli bulldozers continue their work in Arab East Jerusalem, and nationalist maniacs continue their hideous projects of mutual annihilation.

The history of Jewish presence in Palestine is undeniable; no one who loves human freedom could ever deny their right to travel and to settle there out of a centuries-long yearning to return to the sacred places of their ancestral memory and their traditions. But the desire to return to one's ancestral homeland is not the same as the desire to construct a national state upon lands wrested from another people. Only in a world with open frontiers and the abolition of the nation-state and its border police, a world of free passage without necessity of passport and papers, can national conflict be resolved and a fabric "of cooperative human communities be established, and fratricidal conflict prevented. Thus, peace will come not with the (inevitably temporary) triumph of the various regional enemies or with the construction of separate rival states, but through the destruction of *all* national states and the mutual recognition by Israeli Jew and Palestinian Arab, and of all the peoples of the Middle East, of the humanity and the legitimate aspira-

tions of the other.

In Palestine-Israel, this means as fundamental precondition the abolition of Israel's repellent institution of ethnically based citizenship, as well as respect for the inalienable prerogative of Palestinians, not just Jews, to return to their ancestral

The thugs who presently rule in Jerusalem enjoy widespread support for their unyielding, arrogant campaigns, and are being attacked from their narrow right by those who would push them further into genocide. The Palestinians, on the other hand, are more destitute and desperate than ever, and increasingly captive to the most authoritarian, fundamentalist and militarist tendencies in Palestinian society, tendencies aligned with some of the most brutal and despicable political currents and regimes in the world today.

homeland. The Palestinians are, after all, descendents of the original pagan tribes of the region before the biblical exodus from Egypt, and, as Arabs, have dwelt there for more than thirteen centuries. Their rights to the places now claimed by Jews as promised by ancient tradition not only date from ancient history but from living memory.

There is also the distinctly forbidding question of the lands stolen at least since 1948—a question not resolved in monetary, but in human, personal and communitarian terms. A section of the Jewish labor movement in Palestine understood this in its 1924 declaration (cited by Chornsky), "The main and most reliable means of strengthening peace and mutual understanding between the Jewish people and the Arab people . . . is the accord, alliance, and joint effort of Jewish and Arab workers in town and country."

Such a perspective of reconciliation based on justice seems manifestly impos-

sible today—so much blood has been shed, so many crimes committed, so many lasting hatreds sown. And the situation holds little promise for a humane solution to the conflict in the foreseeable future.

Thugs Who Currently Rule

The thugs who presently rule in Jerusalem enjoy widespread support for their unyielding, arrogant campaigns, and are being attacked from their narrow right by those who would push them further into genocide. The Palestinians, on the other hand, are more destitute and desperate than ever, and increasingly captive to the most authoritarian, fundamentalist and militarist tendencies in Palestinian society, tendencies aligned with

some of the most brutal and despicable political currents and regimes in the world today.

Yet, however impossible it may seem, only a radical break can transform unending national conflicts into class war against the capitalist nation states; otherwise the situation will only worsen until all contending parties succumb to their mutual destruction. The road ahead is unclear, but protagonists and victims must find a way to move beyond the fatal cycle of conquest and war. To do any less will be to accept the inevitability of the most dire and tragic of consequences.

In his essay on the Negev, Ben-Gurion declared, "If the State does not put an end to the desert, the desert is liable to put an end to the State." But the State devours itself, and ultimately life along with it. Its desperation portends its approaching collapse. The desert they are making in the name of their peace cries out, in agony. Can a different vision, and real peace, emerge?

The Simple Truth:

Selling Coercion to Ann Landers

Vicki Fox Wieselthier



"The Simple Truth: Selling Coercion to Ann Landers" examines the cozy relationship between the pharmaceutical industry and the non-profit advocacy group National Alliance for the Mentally Ill (NAMI), an organization that has been actively pushing for expanded involuntary treatment laws for the mentally ill in the United States. Vicki Fox Wieselthier is a long time psychiatric survivor and activist working out of St. Louis, Missouri. She is the founder of MadNation, an Internet-based organization of people working together for human rights and social justice in mental health. This essay is reprinted from MadNation located at www.madnation.org.

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(On February 17, 1999 syndicated columnist Ann Landers speculated that maybe it was a good idea to force people with schizophrenia to live in institutions where they would be medicated against their will. This annotated essay may explain why she was fooled into taking this position.)



Chances are there is a group of people working very hard to increase coercion and force in the mental health system in your community. They may not be making news now, but they are there, waiting for some awful act of violence that seems to involve a person believed to be mentally ill. And when the awful act of violence happens—whether it is a person pushed onto the subway tracks as happened in New York City, a bizarre attack on a politician, like the Capitol murders, or something else, they will be ready to begin their campaign of lies, distortion and fear.

The simple truth is that with about one in four of us "different enough" to be called mentally ill,ⁱ it is just a matter of time before each and every community can count on something happening that can be used as an excuse to get the ball rolling. Funded by drug company money, and fueled by a constant barrage of news stories with sensationalist headlines and content that endlessly repeats lies, exaggerations and just plain fiction about the relationship between violence and mental illness, the campaign to destroy our rights, lock us up, and forcibly drug each and every one of us is well underway.

The beginning seemed pretty straightforward. Somewhere

along the line our society became more violent, our cities became hostile environments, our different-ness became medicalized into diseases, and everyone was expected to be a unit of production. At the end of the 20th century, Boo Radley (To Kill a Mockingbird) would have lived in a psychiatric hospital, a group home, or been homeless and Scout would have been told that Boo had a brain disease and was dangerous. While it's true that in the past way too many of us lived desperately unhappy lives locked in back wards or chained like dogs to beds in our families homes, it is also true that in days gone by, many of us lived unobtrusively or found love, friendship, and contentment like everybody else.

The forces of modernity converged and we were among the victims. Our moms swallowed Valium and better living through chemistry and electricity became a way of life. The hospitals were an embarrassment that everyone was eager to close and the back bedrooms in our parents' homes had been converted into rum-pus rooms. The American dream became grounded in the belief that we were all alike and people—all people—were expected to fit neatly into the roles we saw on TV. In an era when no one wanted to take responsibility for anything at all, emotional distress became mental illness and mental illness became a life long sentence requiring first an admission of guilt and then a willingness to be compliant with any kind of treatment that was ordered. There was no place for Boo Radley or anyone else that couldn't fit in.

The promise was that medicine would "cure" us and the government would pay for it. Both were lies. The drugs damaged our brainsⁱⁱⁱ, made us drool, impaired our movement, destroyed our sexuality, and made us stupid and fat^{iv}. Sometimes they kept us quiet, took away our inner voices, or regulated our moods well enough to satisfy our families or our own beaten down expectations. Some people think that everything would have been just fine if we had accepted it and quietly sat in the group homes HUD built for us, attended the day programs Medicaid was happy to pay for, and swallowed our pills.

But some of us want more—a lot more. The survivor movement was born when many of us who had been diagnosed as be-

ing incurably mentally ill somehow got better. Some of us got better with medical assistance, some of us got better without it, and still others of us got better despite it. And while many of us turned our backs on that part of our past, still others of us started to talk to each other about our common experience. We discovered that far too many of us had been victimized by the system that we had turned to for help.

We discovered that the abuse and mistreatment we received while in the psychiatric system was endemic. We discovered that no one in the system appeared to be interested in acknowledging or eliminating the rampant abuse we witnessed and suffered. We discovered that there was a systematic campaign to ignore our concerns and discount our experiences.

I say "our" concerns with some degree of reservation, because our Survivor movement was, and continues to be, far from united. While we share a belief that the mental health system abuses and harms far too many of us, far too often, that may be the only thing we have in common. There are those among us who believe that there is no such thing as mental illness, and that medical model treatment is never anything but abusive and damaging. Others of us are willing to claim a DSM IV diagnosis, and feel most comfortable talking about things like choice and the ability to access the services we find helpful and life enhancing.

While we made valiant efforts to work together, the families of people the system of care had failed also began to organize. Their concerns were different from ours. While our personal and collective experience had taught us that organized psychiatry was often harmful, they believed that access to that system would improve the lives of their children, and their own. While they believed that no price was too great to pay to reduce psychiatric symptoms, our experience told us that brightly colored pills, shock treatment, and injections often stole our personhood. But more than that, we were the ones who actually got better, and they were living with and worrying about people who were not recovering and whose lives continued to be at best, in disarray, and at worst fraught with hopelessness and danger.

Somewhere along the way we lost the ability to talk to each other about these very different perspectives. It was as if both

sides came to believe that our personal experiences precluded any hope of developing a common worldview and common goals. The survivor community wanted more of what worked for us—housing, self-help/peer support programs, civil and human rights protection, and opportunities for growth and empowerment. The family movement wanted secure institutional environments, access to medical model services, and expedited and expanded involuntary treatment options. Dollars were limited, and the views of the possible collided.

We have spent an inordinate amount of time fighting with each other while the system continued to fail all of us. For awhile, the playing field was pretty much level—despite the inherent inequality of our two movements. We were, after all, mostly poor, mostly unemployed and mostly viewed by society as outsiders or marginal members of our communities. Members of family organizations were seen as normal and were often comfortably middle class. Policy decisions seemed, for awhile, pretty much even handed. The CSP program flourished, and there was a commitment by the Federal government to developing less intrusive community based services. The money set aside for research into improved drug therapies continued to grow and new medications were developed. All of this changed when the twin evils of drug company money and the professionalization of family advocacy began.

In place of a family advocacy movement concerned principally with helping families support each other and becoming educated about mental illnesses and how to assist their loved ones, suddenly there was money to pay lobbyists and to develop model legislation. Big dollars flowed through the system, with money from seven drug companies^v enabling the largest of the family organizations, the National Alliance for the Mentally Ill (NAMI), to develop a network of regional offices with paid staff devoted to helping state and local chapters develop legislation and carryout an organized political agenda.

Somewhere along the line, NAMI discovered that if you say something often enough, people will come to believe it is true^{vi}. One of the first things they chose to say was that they represented not just the needs and concerns of family members, but

ours as well. "Real consumers" (the word Survivor was anathema) were those who dutifully followed a treatment program, repented of the days when they did not do so, and were grateful for the involuntary treatment they received when they "needed" it^{vii}.

We (Survivors that is) were something else entirely. NAMI's E. Fuller Torrey even went so far as to blame a half million deaths on the leadership of our community^{viii}. While the Survivor community took up the slogan of the anti-apartheid movement "Nothing about me, without me", NAMI leaders insisted on their right to speak for us.

And what they said was that people with mental illness were violent, that force was necessary, and that mental illness was forever. Their legislative agenda increasingly focused on changing mental health laws to reflect their beliefs. Instead of supporting the view that with access to a mix of medical and generic services people with mental illnesses could live successful lives in the community, legislators, the media, and the public were encouraged to believe that 50% of us were so seriously disturbed that we required forced treatment^{ix}. Our great sin was denial and the cause of both the illnesses and the denial was biological. If we refused treatment, the refusal itself was taken as proof that we were seriously ill and viewed as sufficient reason to haul us into court and take away our freedom. We began to hear words like decisionally impaired. Suddenly we were seeing legislation drafted that allowed the courts to strip away our rights for having faulty perceptions^x.

It seemed to happen overnight. One moment NAMI was out there fighting stigma and the next moment they were promulgating the worst of the stereotypes about mental patients as deranged killers in waiting. Two-time NAMI Board Member DJ Jaffe called for the firing Center for Mental Health Services (CMHS) Director Bernie Arons because he included Survivors in CMHS national meetings^{xi}. E. Fuller Torrey became a different kind of wolf and began saying that

deinstitutionalization had failed not because the services were not made available in the community, but because people with "untreated" mental illnesses were inherently violent, unpredictable, and dangerous. In testimony before the Civil Rights Commission, in late 1998^{xii}, Torrey stated that employers who hired persons with

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mental illness were themselves mentally ill. Studies by responsible researchers like those associated with the MacArthur Foundation were distorted or discounted^{xiii} when the results did not support the connection the family advocates were making between violence and mental illness. The Bellevue Study^{xiv}, a four year examination of the efficacy of involuntary commitment, was first distorted and later abjured when the results indicated that access to services made a difference in people's lives, but involuntary out patient commitment did not. Laurie Flynn, NAMI's Executive Director, had her hands in the drug companies pockets at the same time she was supposedly representing our interests as part of the National Bioethics Advisory Commission. Brian Chico owner of the drug company sponsored schizophrenia.com website developed a NBD (neurobiological disease) and violence electronic mailing list^{xv} while the NAMI offshoot, the Treatment Advocacy Center developed a searchable on-line database^{xvi} of crimes supposedly committed by people with mental illnesses.

As 1998 drew to a close, it became clear that the family movement would exploit any incident of violence by a person thought to have a mental illness. When Michael Laudor killed his lover, the former NAMI poster child was held up to the world as an example of the consequences of abandoned treatment^{xvii}. NAMI developed a four-point description of their worldview^{xviii} that made it clear that it was in societies' best interest to develop a system of forced treatment and coercion. With funding by the drug companies and people like Ted and Veda Stanley, NAMI and Treatment Advocacy Center (TAC) advocates began to make the rounds. A report of a violent incident anywhere in the country was almost sure to contain a quote from one of the NAMI/TAC experts^{xix}. In February 1999, TAC Executive Director Mary Zdanowicz called for the institution of out patient commitment legislation in Maryland after a person who had never received mental health care or been diagnosed with a mental illness committed a

highly publicized murder in Baltimore^{xx}.

It has become clear to many of us in the Survivor movement that the push to limit our rights has taken on a life of its own. Fed by lies that have come to be regarded as the truth, backed by a mini-army of pro-force zealots with funding that allows them to travel the country speaking to reporters and legislators, and embraced by communities which are powerless to make themselves safe from the other dangers in our culture, the time to demonize us is at hand. No one outside of the Survivor community is asking about the cost. No one asks about the cost in dollars and what shifting mental health dollars away from the services we want and need and into the creation of a force bureaucracy means. And certainly no one asks about the cost to us as individuals and the cost to a society that will lose our talents and skills.

The simple truth is that I would not be here today had I not had comprehensive, community based, voluntary mental health treatment in the 1980s. I would also not

be here today if the system of life long force and coercion that is currently being constructed had been in place back then. I would not have survived, and I am a Survivor.

The Simple Truth Notes

- [i] Kessler, Ronald et al. "Lifetime and 12-Month Prevalence of DSM-III-R Psychiatric Disorders in the United States," *Archives of General Psychiatry*, vol. 51, January 1994.
- [ii] *Science News*, 12/19/98-12/26/98, Vol. 154 Issue 25/26, p397
- [iii]. Gur RE, Maany V, Mozley PD, Swanson C, Bilker W, Gur RC Subcortical MRI volumes in neuroleptic-naive and treated patients with schizophrenia *Am J Psychiatry* 1998 Dec;155(12):1711-7 On line at: <http://ajp.psychiatryonline.org/cgi/content/full/155/12/1711#F1>
- [iv] On-line See: <http://www.cmhc.com/guide/pro22.htm>. To search by drug name: <http://www.rxlist.com/>. Also see the PDR (*Physician's Desk Reference*).
- [v] Sponsorship of NAMI Campaign to End Discrimination: <http://www.nami.org/cam->

paign/index.htm link between NAMI, the Campaign to End Discrimination, and drug sponsorship of PACT (Programs in Assertive Community treatment) <http://www.actassociation.com/About/Sponsors/sponsors.htm>

NAMI Anti Stigma Foundation IRS Information 1996 <http://nonprofit.guidestar.org/search/report.cfm?ein=54%2D1795625&rid=39>

Ely Lilly also has staff on loan to NAMI. Jerry Radke "NAMI Consultant" jerry@nami.org (703) 316-7996

[vi] The biggest lie is most definitely the Torrey fiction that 1000 murders a year are committed by people with "untreated" mental illnesses. His first explanation of where he got that number is in a letter to Brian Chico of [schizophrenia.com](http://www.schizophrenia.com). See: <http://www.schizophrenia.com/ami/Tempfiles/1297news.html>

In testimony before the Civil Rights Commission he credits a DOJ Study which does not collect data that addresses that question in any credible way. See: <http://www.madnation.org/text/beyondbelief.htm> for an examination of this particular lie.

[vii] *Two People's Experiences with Schizophrenia and Involuntary Treatment* with an in-

troducton by Brain Chico <http://www.schizophrenia.com/newsletter/397/397invttrmt.html>

[viii] E. FULLER TORREY, M.D. Taking Issue *PSYCHIATRIC SERVICES* Feb. 1997 - On line at: <http://www.schizophrenia.com/newsletter/297/297survive.html>

[ix] Leibovitch, Lori Interview with Fuller Torrey "Madness in the Streets" in *Salon Magazine* Feb. 1997. <http://www.schizophrenia.com/ami/Torrey/Deinst.html>

[x] *The Minnesota Law* (253B.064) <http://www.madnation.org/text/mnlaw.htm>

[xi] <http://www.schizophrenia.com/ami/Tempfiles/1297news.html> January 1998, January 1998 *NBD UPDATES* Part 1. This article attacking Bernie Arons also contains Jaffe's explanation of the difference between consumers and survivors.

[xii] Transcript of his testimony is on *MadNation* at: <http://www.madnation.org/text/TorreyADA.htm>

[xiii] *MadNation* has reported on this all along. See: <http://www.madnation.org/news/archive1.htm>

[xiv] The Bellevue Summary <http://www.madnation.org/text/bellevue.htm> TAC Spin: <http://www.madnation.org/text/bellevuetac.htm>

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AGAINST THE GRAIN

Peter Montague

"Against the Grain" examines the mainstream media's silence about the genetic revolution in agriculture and the lack of labeling requirements for genetically altered foods. This essay has been reprinted from Rachel's Environmental & Health Weekly, a weekly publication which provides understandable scientific information about the influence of toxic substances on human health and the environment. Subscriptions are \$25/year for individuals, \$15 for students and seniors from the Environmental Research Foundation, PO Box 5036, Annapolis, MD 21304-7036. For a free 4-week trial subscription you can call toll-free in the U.S. at 888-2RACHEL (888-272-2435) or email carri@rachel.org. Their website is located at: www.rachel.org

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A new book by Marc Lappe and Britt Bailey, *Against the Grain*, makes it clear that genetic engineering is revolutionizing U.S. agriculture almost overnight.¹ In 1997, 15% of the U.S. soybean crop was grown from genetically engineered seed. By next year, if Monsanto Corporation's timetable unfolds on schedule, 100% of the U.S. soybean crop (60 million acres) will be genetically engineered.^{1,pg.5} The same revolution is occurring, at the same pace, in cotton. Corn, potatoes, tomatoes and other food crops are lagging slightly behind but, compared to traditional rates of change in farming, they are being deployed into the global ecosystem at blinding speed.

The mass media have largely maintained silence about the genetic engineering revolution in agriculture, and government regulators have imposed no labeling requirements, so the public has little or no knowledge that genetically altered foods are already being sold in grocery stores everywhere, and that soon few traditional forms of food may remain on the shelves.

Genetic engineering is the process whereby genes of one species are implanted in another species, to give new traits to the recipient. Traditionally the movement of genes has only been possible between closely-related species. Under the natural order established by the Creator, there was no way dog genes could get into cats. Now, however, genetic engineering allows scientists to play God, removing genes from a trout or a mosquito and implanting them in a tomato, for better or for worse.

Three federal agencies regulate genetically-engineered crops and foods—the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA), the

U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA), and the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). The heads of all three agencies are on record with speeches that make them sound remarkably like cheerleaders for genetic engineering, rather than impartial judges of a novel and powerful new technology, and all three agencies have set policies that:

No public records need be kept of which farms are using genetically-engineered seeds;

Companies that buy from farmers and sell to food manufacturers and grocery chains do not need to keep genetically-engineered crops separate from traditional crops, so purchasers have no way to avoid purchasing genetically engineered foods;

No one needs to label any crops, or any food products, with information about their genetically engineered origins, so consumers have no way to exercise informed choice in the grocery store. In the U.S., every food carries a label listing its important ingredients, with the remarkable exception of genetically engineered foods.

These policies have two main effects:

(1) they have kept the public in the dark about the rapid spread of genetically engineered foods onto the family dinner table, and

(2) they will prevent epidemiologists from being able to trace health effects, should any appear, because no one will know who has been exposed to novel gene products and who has not.

Today Pillsbury food products are made from genetically-engineered crops. Other foods that are now genetically engineered include Crisco; Kraft salad dressings; Nestle's chocolate; Green Giant harvest burgers; Parkay margarine; Isomil and ProSobee infant formulas; and Wesson vegetable oils. Fritos, Doritos, Tostitos and Ruffles Chips—and french fried potatoes sold by McDonald's—are genetically engineered.^{1,pg.92}

By next year, if Monsanto's plans develop on schedule—and there is no reason to think they won't—100% of the U.S. soybean crop will be genetically engineered. Eighty percent of all the vegetable oils in American foods are derived from soy beans, so most foods that contain vegetable

oils will contain genetically engineered components by next year or the year after.^{1,pg.52}

It is safe to say that never before in the history of the world has such a rapid and large-scale revolution occurred in a nation's food supply. And not just the U.S. is targeted for change. The genetic engineering companies (all of whom used to be chemical companies)—Dow, DuPont, Novartis, and preeminently, Monsanto — are aggressively promoting their genetically engineered seeds in Europe, Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, India, China and elsewhere. Huge opposition has developed to Monsanto's technology everywhere it has been introduced outside the United States. Only in the U.S. has the "agbiotech" revolution been greeted with a dazed silence.

Monsanto — the clear leader in genetically engineered crops — argues that genetic engineering is necessary (nay, ESSENTIAL) if the world's food supply is to keep up with human population growth. Without genetic engineering, billions will starve, Monsanto says. However, neither Monsanto nor any of the other genetic engineering companies appears to be developing genetically engineered crops that might solve global food shortages. Quite the opposite.

If genetically engineered crops were aimed at feeding the hungry, then Monsanto and the others would be developing seeds with certain predictable characteristics: (a) ability to grow on standard or marginal soils; (b) plants able to produce more high-quality protein, with increased per-acre yield, without increasing the need for expensive machinery, chemicals, fertilizers, or water; (c) they would aim to favor small farms over larger farms; (d) the seeds would be cheap and freely available without restrictive licensing; and (e) they would be for crops that feed people, not meat animals.

None of the genetically engineered crops now available or in development (to the extent that these have been announced) has any of these desirable characteristics. Quite the opposite. The new genetically engineered seeds require high-quality soils, enormous investment in machinery, and increased use of chemicals. There is evidence that their per-acre yields are about 10% lower than traditional varieties (at least in the case of soybeans),^{1,pg.84} and they produce crops largely intended as feed for

meat animals, not to provide protein for people. The genetic engineering revolution has nothing to do with feeding the world's hungry.

The plain fact is that fully two-thirds of the genetically engineered crops now available, or in development, are designed specifically to increase the sale of pesticides produced by the companies that are selling the genetically engineered seeds.^{1,pg.55} For example, Monsanto is selling a line of "Roundup Ready" products that has been genetically engineered to withstand heavy doses of Monsanto's all-time top money-making herbicide, Roundup (glyphosate). A Roundup Ready crop of soybeans can withstand a torrent of Roundup that kills any weeds competing with the crop. The farmer gains a \$20 per acre cost saving (compared to older techniques that relied on lesser quantities of more expensive chemicals), but the ecosystem receives much more Roundup than formerly. To make Roundup Ready technology legal, EPA had to accommodate Monsanto by tripling the allowable residues of Roundup that can remain on the crop.^{1,pg.75} Monsanto's patent on Roundup runs out in the year 2000, but any farmer who adopts Roundup Ready seeds must agree to buy only Monsanto's brand of Roundup herbicide. Thus Monsanto's patent monopoly on Roundup is effectively extended into the foreseeable future—a shrewd business maneuver if there ever was one. However, this should not be confused with feeding the world's hungry. It is selling more of Monsanto's chemicals and filling the corporate coffers, which is what it was intended to do. "Feeding the hungry" is a sales gimmick, not a reality.

Monsanto's other major line of genetically engineered crops contains the gene from a natural pesticide called Bt. Bt is a naturally-occurring soil organism that kills many kinds of caterpillars that like to eat the leaves of crops. Bt is the pesticide of choice in low-chemical-use farming, IPM [integrated pest management] and organic farming. Farmers who try to minimize their use of synthetic chemical pesticides rely on an occasional dusting with Bt to prevent a crop from being overrun with leaf-eating caterpillars. To them, Bt is a God-send, a miracle of nature.

Monsanto has taken the Bt gene and engineered it into cotton, corn and potatoes. Every cell of every plant contains the Bt

gene and thus produces the Bt toxin. It is like dusting the crop heavily with Bt, day after day after day. The result is entirely predictable, and not in dispute. When insect pests eat any part of these crops, the only insects that will survive are those that are (a) resistant to the Bt toxin, or (b) change their diet to prefer other plants to eat, thus disrupting the local ecosystem and perhaps harming a neighboring farmer's crops.

According to Dow Chemical scientists who are marketing their own line of Bt-containing crops, within 10 years Bt will have lost its usefulness because so many insects will have developed resistance to its toxin.^{1,pg.70}

Thus Monsanto and Dow are profiting bountifully in the short term, while destroying the usefulness of the one natural pesticide that undergirds the low-pesticide approach of IPM and organic farming. It is another brilliant—if utterly ruthless and antisocial—Monsanto business plan.

Ultimately, for sustainability and long-term maximum yield, agricultural ecosystems must become diversified once again. This is the key idea underlying organic farming. Monoculture cropping—growing acre upon acre of the same crop—is the antithesis of sustainability because monocultures are fragile and unstable, subject to insect swarms, drought, and blight. Monocultures can only be sustained by intensive, expensive inputs of water, energy, chemicals, and machinery. Slowly over the past two decades, the movement toward IPM and organic farming has begun to take hold in this country—despite opposition from the federal government, from the chemical companies, from the banks that make farm loans, and from the corporations that sell insurance. Now comes the genetic engineering revolution, which is dragging U.S. agriculture back down the old path toward vast monocultures, heavy reliance on machinery, energy, water, and chemicals, all of which favors the huge farm over the small family operation. It is precisely the wrong direction to be taking agricultural technology in the late 20th cen-

tury, if the goals are long-term maximum yield, food security, and sustainability.

It is a wrong direction for another reason as well.

When 100% of the soybeans in the U.S. are grown from Roundup Ready seed—next year—then 100% of America's soybean farmers will be dependent upon a

The corporations that are introducing genetically modified crops into the global ecosystem want you to think of genetic engineering as a well-understood process similar to laparoscopic surgery. Indeed, the phrase "genetic engineering" gives the impression that moving genes from one organism to another is as straightforward as designing a rocket or a TV set. This is not the case.

single supplier for all their seed and the chemicals needed to allow those seeds to thrive. In sum, Monsanto will have achieved a monopoly on a fundamental food crop. It is clear that Monsanto's goal is a similar monopoly on every major food crop here and abroad. If something doesn't change soon, it is safe to predict that a small number of "life science" corporations (as they like to call themselves)—the majority of them American and the remainder European—will have a monopoly on the seed needed to raise all of the world's major food crops. Then the hungry, like the well-fed, will have to pay the corporate owners of this new technology for permission to eat.

The corporations that are introducing genetically modified crops into the global ecosystem want you to think of genetic engineering as a well-understood process similar to laparoscopic surgery. Indeed, the phrase "genetic engineering" gives the impression that moving genes from one organism to another is as straightforward as designing a rocket or a TV set. This is not the case.

Basically, a plant's genome (all of its genes, taken together) is a black box. Genetic engineering takes a gene from one black box and forces it into a second black box (the recipient plant), hoping that the new gene will "take." Most of the time,

the experiment fails.¹ Once in a few thousand tries, the foreign gene embeds itself in the recipient plant's genome and the newly-modified plant gains the desired trait. But that is all the technicians know. They have no idea where in the receiving plant's genome the new gene has found a home. This fundamental ignorance, com-

combined with the speed and scale at which modified organisms are being released into the global ecosystem, raises a host of questions of safety for the future of agriculture, for the environment, and for human health.

To begin with, genes don't necessarily control a single trait. A gene may control several different traits in a plant. Without careful study, plants with undesirable characteristics may be released into

the global ecosystem. And biotechnology is not like a chemical spill that can be mopped up—once you release a new gene sequence into nature, your grandchildren are going to be living with it because there's no taking it back.

How a gene affects a plant depends upon the environment. The same gene can have different effects, depending on the environment in which the new plant is growing.² What appears predictable and safe after a few years of observation of a small test plot may turn out to have quite different consequences when introduced into millions of acres of croplands in the U.S. and elsewhere, where conditions vary widely.

Does the new gene destabilize the entire plant genome in some unforeseen way, leading one day to problems in that crop? Only time will tell.

Genes can travel to nearby, related plants on their own. This is called gene flow. In 1996 gene flow was discovered to be much more common than previously thought.³

According to *Science* magazine, many ecologists say it is only a matter of time before an engineered gene makes the leap to a weedy species, this creating a new weed or invigorating an old one. "It will probably happen in far less than 1% of the products," warns ecological geneticist Norm Ellstrand of the University of Cali-

fornia at Riverside, "but within 10 years we will have a moderate-to-large scale ecological or economic catastrophe, because there will be so many [genetically modified] products being released,"³ Ellstrand predicts. It is worth noting that U.S. farmers already spend \$4.3 billion purchasing 628 million pounds of herbicides (active ingredients only) to control weeds.^{4,pg.32}

The Congressional Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) recommended that all genetically modified plants should be considered non-indigenous exotic species, with the power to disrupt ecosystems.^{4,pg.29} Non-indigenous, introduced species have provided great benefits to humanity (most of U.S. agriculture relies on introduced species), but we also should learn from kudzu, purple loosestrife, the gypsy moth, the fire ant, and the boll weevil that exotic species can be extremely disruptive and very expensive to control (if indeed they can be controlled at all).

A public health disaster was narrowly averted in 1996 when a group of researchers tried to improve soybeans by giving them a gene from the Brazil nut.⁵ The goal

was to improve the nutritional value of soybeans by forcing them to produce more methionine, an essential amino acid. The gene from the Brazil nut was successfully transferred to soybeans. After this had been accomplished, but before the soybeans were sold commercially, independent researchers tested the soybeans to see if it would cause allergic reactions in people. Many people are allergic to nuts, particularly Brazil nuts. In some people, allergic reaction to Brazil nuts is swift and fatal.

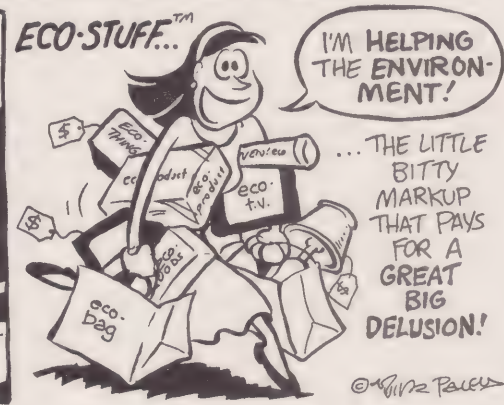
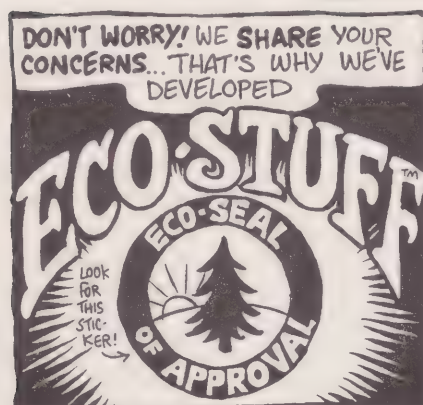
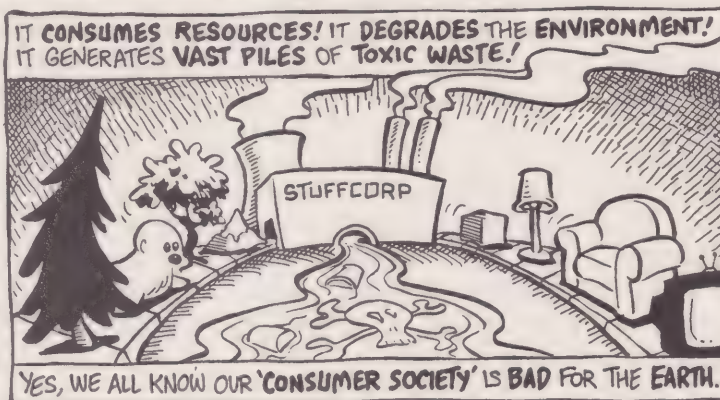
A series of laboratory tests on humans confirmed that the genetically modified soybeans did provoke Brazil-nut allergy in humans. They could not feed the genetically modified soybeans to people for fear of killing them, but through scratch tests on skin, they confirmed unequivocally that people allergic to Brazil nuts were allergic to the modified soybeans. In discussing their findings in *the New England Journal of Medicine*, the researchers pointed out that tests on laboratory animals will not necessarily discover allergic reactions to genetically modified organisms. Only tests on humans will suffice.

U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) only requires testing for allergic reactions if a gene is being taken from a source that is already known to cause allergic reactions in humans. Many genes are being taken now from bacteria and other life-forms whose allergenicity is entirely unknown, so federal regulations require no allergy testing in these cases. This reduces regulatory costs for the corporations, but leaves the public unprotected.

Crops are being genetically modified chiefly as a way to sell more pesticides. [See REHW #637.] In some cases, the modified crops change the pesticides themselves, giving them new toxicity. The herbicide bromoxynil falls into this category.^{1,pg.41} Bromoxynil is already recognized by U.S. EPA [Environmental Protection Agency] as a possible carcinogen and as a teratogen (i.e., it causes birth defects). Calgene (now owned by Monsanto) developed a strain of cotton plants (called BXN Cotton) that can withstand direct spraying with bromoxynil. Unfortunately, the bromoxynil-resistant gene in cotton modifies the bromoxynil, turning it into a

NINA'S ADVENTURES "ECOLLUSION"

by Nina Paley



chemical byproduct called DBHA, which is at least as toxic as bromoxynil itself.

Although humans do not eat cotton, traditional silage for cattle contains up to 50% cotton slash, gin mill leavings, and cotton debris. Both bromoxynil and DBHA are fat-soluble, so they can accumulate in the fat of animals. Therefore, it is likely that DBHA will make its way into the human food chain through meat. Furthermore, cotton seed oil is widely used as a direct human food and as a cooking additive. In licensing bromoxynil for use on Monsanto's genetically modified BXN Cotton, EPA conducted a risk assessment that assumed bromoxynil and DBHA had no way to enter the human food chain. Lastly, cotton dust—the cause of brown lung disease—will now carry the added hazard of bromoxynil and DBHA, another danger that EPA has disregarded. Thus genetic engineering—which is being promoted as a technology that will reduce the perils of pesticides—will in some instances increase them.

In rats and in rabbits, bromoxynil causes serious birth defects, including changes in the bones of the spine and skull, and hydrocephaly ("water on the brain"). These birth defects appear in offspring at doses of bromoxynil that are not toxic to the mother. Despite these findings, and despite a law (the Food Quality Protection Act of 1996) that explicitly gives EPA the power to reduce exposure standards to protect infants, EPA in 1997 declined to require a special safety factor to protect children from bromoxynil.

Lastly, when EPA added up the cancer-causing potential of bromoxynil, they found it to be 2.7 per million, and they promptly declared this to be "well within" the one-in-a-million regulatory limit.^{1,pg.46} Is 2.7 less than one?

By all appearances, EPA is more interested in protecting Monsanto's investment in this new technology than in protecting public health.

Because genetically-engineered soybeans will be doused with increased quantities of herbicides, such as Roundup

(glyphosate), soybeans and soy products will carry increased chemical residues. Infants who must be reared on soy milk, because they cannot tolerate lactose in regular milk, will be at special hazard.

Crops that are genetically modified to resist herbicides detoxify the herbicides by producing proteins, which will be incor-

The net effect of all this will be to expose soil insects and microorganisms, foraging and burrowing animals, seed-eating birds, and a myriad of other non-target organisms to these chemicals and to the gene products that make them.

porated into our food with unknown results.^{1,pg.143}

When crops are genetically modified to incorporate the naturally occurring Bt toxin into their cells (see REHW #636), those Bt toxins will be incorporated into foods made from those crops. What will be the effect of these toxins and gene products on the bacteria and other organisms (the so-called microflora) that live in the human digestive tract? Time will tell.

The "life sciences" companies have big plans for turning agricultural crops into "factories" for producing pharmaceuticals and specialty chemicals in open fields. They plan to manufacture vaccines, drugs, detergents, enzymes and other chemicals by putting the right genes into the right plants.

The net effect of all this will be to expose soil insects and microorganisms, foraging and burrowing animals, seed-eating birds, and a myriad of other non-target organisms to these chemicals and to the gene products that make them. The Union of Concerned Scientists says, "Herbivores will consume the chemicals as they feed on plants. Soil microbes, insects, and worms will be exposed as they degrade plant debris. Aquatic organisms will confront the drugs and chemicals washed into streams, lakes, and rivers from fields."^{4,pg.6}

Most fundamentally, genetically-engineered crops substitute human wisdom for the wisdom of nature. As genetically-en-

gineered crops are planted on tens of millions of acres, the diversity of our agricultural systems is being further diminished. Do we know enough to select the "right" combination of genes to assure the stable, long-term yield of our agricultural systems? Our recent experiences with PCBs, CFCs, DDT, Agent Orange, and global warming should give us pause. Genetic engineering is by far the most powerful technology humans have ever discovered, and it is being deployed by the same corporations that, historically, have produced one large-scale calamity after another. Is there any good reason to think things will be different this time?

1. Marc Lappe and Britt Bailey, *AGAINST THE GRAIN; BIOTECHNOLOGY AND THE CORPORATE TAKEOVER OF YOUR FOOD* [ISBN 1567511503] (Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1998). Available from Common Courage Press, P.O. Box 207, Monroe, ME 04951. Tel. (207) 525-0900 or (800) 497-3207.

2. Craig Holdrege, *GENETICS AND THE MANIPULATION OF LIFE: THE FORGOTTEN FACTOR OF CONTEXT* (Hudson, N.Y.: Lindisfarne Press, 1996). ISBN 0-940262-77-0. Available from Lindisfarne Press, RR4 Box 94 A-1, Hudson, NY 12534.

3. James Kling, "Could Transgenic Supercrops One Day Breed Superweeds?" *SCIENCE* Vol. 274 (October 11, 1996), pgs. 180-181.

4. Jane Rissler and Margaret Mellon, *THE ECOLOGICAL RISKS OF ENGINEERED CROPS* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1996).

5. Julie A. Nordlee and others, "Identification of a Brazil-nut Allergen in Transgenic Soybeans," *NEW ENGLAND JOURNAL OF MEDICINE* Vol. 334, No. 11 (March 14, 1996), pgs. 688-692.

Top Twenty Reasons Why NATO's War Sucks

continued from page 45

13

We've just about smoked our last pack of cruise missiles, and our bag of stealth planes is dented. Guess who's paying for the next trip to the store?

14

Germany Lies Again! Germany has re-adopted Goebbels's principle that "The bigger the lie, the more believable." On April 15 German Defense Minister Rudolf Scharping announced that the refugee column bombed by NATO had in fact been shelled by Serb artillery. On the 19th, he claimed that 3,000 men disappeared from Pristina in a single night—a night whose date he couldn't name. This followed Scharping's March 31st statement that Serbia had set up concentration camps, an allegation later quietly dropped. The Germans have apparently decided that the best way to purge that nagging ol' war guilt is to manufacture a new enemy just as bad as they were, and then destroy that enemy. Now if they could only get their stories straight...

15

NATO Disinformation. The NATO bombing of the refugee column revealed NATO's willingness to lie shamelessly. At first, NATO officials denied the slaughter; then they blamed the Serbs for having bombed the refugees with their own jets; then they claimed that after the NATO planes had bombed "only military objects," Serbs in the convoy went crazy and started shooting Albanian refugees. When televised images of charred, shredded corpses didn't jibe with a shoot-out, Germany's Rudolf

"Al" Scharping said that the column had been attacked by Serb artillery.

16

Cowardice. The attack also revealed what wussies NATO are. The pilot was flying at 15,000 feet, the minimum altitude NATO commanders will allow for fear of Serb air defenses. That doesn't quite show the sort



17

of resolve that will earn you the respect of your enemy—or allow you to distinguish refugees from military convoys.

Priorities. NATO's unapologetic official reaction to the refugee slaughter makes the whole moral-superiority argument a little difficult to swallow. It seems NATO is more concerned about losing a single pilot than crisping entire convoys of Albanians.

18

Irrational Numbers. NATO's estimate for the number of Albanians killed by the Serbs is suffering from hyperinflation. On April 17th, NATO spokesman Jamie Shea claimed that the Serbs had killed more than 3,200 Albanians. On April 18th, the U.S. ambassador for war crimes David Scheffer charged that 3,200 was "a very low estimate," and upped the figure to 100,000. Not to be outdone, the State Department issued a written report on Monday, April 19th, claiming that the number of Albanians killed could be as high as 500,000. It does seem odd that just when NATO has to admit having killed 75 refugees, Albanian victims of Serb brutality increase fifteen-fold overnight.

19

Expulsion or Detention? On Friday, April 16th, UNHCR spokesman Kris Janowski accused Serbia of trying "...to expel the entire ethnic [Albanian] population of Kosovo." On Monday, April 19th, Janowski claimed that Albanians "are being forcibly prevented from leaving Kosovo." Which is it?

20

Mad Albright? The following is an excerpt from General Colin Powell's book *My American Journey*: "My constant, unwelcome message at all the meetings on Bosnia was simply that we should not commit military forces....Madeleine Albright, our ambassador to the UN, asked me in frustration, 'What's the point of having this superb military...if we can't use it?'"

The eXile is a bi-weekly English language newspaper based in Moscow, Russia. The editors, Mark Ames and Matt Taibbi, will put out a book this fall, "The eXile: Sex, Drugs and Libel in the New Russia", published by Grove/Atlantic Press. The eXile's web site address is www.exile.ru

Alternative Press Magazines & Zines

Because there is such a huge volume of alternative material being published, in any single issue we are only able to review a hundred or so of the periodicals we receive. Zines and magazines go in and out of publication daily, so don't be surprised if a few of those listed here have already folded. You're almost always better off sending cash or stamps (or IRCs—international Postal Reply Coupons) for smaller zines, unless the review specifies otherwise. If you want to be sure whether a zine or magazine is still available, send a SASE with a request for current information first.

APR will send a free exchange copy to every publication reviewed in these pages (as long as it is at least 16 pages in length in standard 8½x11 size or 32 pages in smaller format). Please be aware that we receive hundreds of periodicals, more than we could ever review, and are constantly backlogged. Also keep in mind that the APR issue we send for exchanges will be the one a publication is reviewed in (when it is reviewed), so please be patient. APR does not exchange with non-English language publications. All reviews in this issue are by Jason McQuinn [JM], Tom Wheeler [TW] or Chuck Munson [CM].

THE BAFFLER

#11/1998 (POB 378293, Chicago, IL 60637) is another kick-ass issue of this 128-page must-read literary/critical journal. This issue features editor Thomas Frank's "Triangulation Nation: Affirming Mediocrity in a Jaded Age" (with its excellent exposure of the insidious success of the Gannett newspaper chain—publisher of *USA Today* and a slew of mediocre monopoly rags), Paul Maliszewski's hilarious (although almost unreadable due to too-small type) "I Am a Fugitive from Business Journalism," Marc Cooper's personal account of his escape from the CIA/ITT coup against Allende's Chile, and Kim Phillips-Fein's succinct summary of "The Wages of Credit" (on the significance of Chapter Eleven bankruptcy in the modern domestic economy). Past numbers have already sold out, so send these folks \$6 immediately for a sample copy, or better yet \$20 for a 4-issue subscription. [JM]

THE BODY POLITIC

Vol.9.#3/May-June '99 (POB 2363, Binghamton, NY. 13902; web: www.bodypolitic.org) is an informative 36-page, bimonthly "National Pro-Choice News Report," including a "Legislative Watch" in

each issue. In the May-June issue editor Anne Bower recounts the Spring anti-abortion actions in Buffalo (a shadow of the 1992 Operation Rescue blockades there), and interviews secular humanist Tom Flynn. Single copies are still \$4 postpaid; subscriptions are now \$25/year. [JM]

BROKEN PENCIL

The Guide to Alternative Culture in Canada #8/Winter '99 (POB 203, Station P, Toronto, Ontario, M5S 2S7, Canada; e-mail: halpen@interlog.com) is now an 90-page, semi-annual review magazine, basically aiming to do purely for Canadians what **Factsheet Five & Alternative Press Review** have attempted to do for pretty much the entirety of the English-speaking world. And given its much more modest aims, it does better at approximating its goal. This issue's cover story, "Zine Writing the the Death of Literature," is a somewhat pretentious introduction to a new generation of Canadian writers and publishers. The issue includes an assessment of the current state of independent Canadian book publishing, a brief history of the Montréal alternative zine scene from the perspective of the editor of **Fish Piss**, and a "Special Fiction Supplement," along with the usual province by province listing of Canadian zines. Sample copies are \$5; subscriptions are \$12/3 issues in Canada & \$14/3 issues in the U.S. [JM]

CAMPUS

Vol.10.#3/Spring '99 (I.S.I., 3901 Centerville Rd, POB 4431, Wilmington, DE 19807-0431; phone: 1-800-526-7022; web site: www.isi.org) is a professionally produced, 24-page right-wing tabloid that bills itself as "the only national student-edited, student-written newspaper for college students." This issue features Marc Levin's "Closing the Pocketbook: Eliminating Mandatory Fees for Political Groups" (aimed at defunding black, ethnic, gay rights, PIRGs, and social activist student groups). Subscriptions are free with (free) I.S.I. membership or \$10/3 issues for non-members. [JM]

COVERT ACTION QUARTERLY

#66/Winter '99 (1500 Massachusetts Ave. NW #732, Washington, DC. 20005) is an essential magazine covering the hidden political and economic machinations which maintain US hegemony behind the scenes around the world—every issue containing important revelations. This issue's cover story is Greg Speeter's "More Bucks for the Bang: Tomahawks, Technology and Terror" (on the high-dollar Pentagon budget sending resources down the drain), but the best articles cover the massive US government lies about last year's US bombing of a Sudan pharmaceuticals factory, the current state of the farcical prosecution of two Libyans for the 1988 bombing of Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, the long-term goal of Bosnian leader Izetbegovich to create a fundamentalist Islamic state,

and the implications of the Pinochet prosecution by Spain. And, of course, there's lots—too much to list it all. You don't know what the real score is or how the US government actually operates if you don't read this magazine. Check it out today! Subscriptions are well worth the \$22/year. [JM]

DISCUSSION BULLETIN

#93/Jan.-Feb. & #94/Mar.-April '99 (POB 1564, Grand Rapids, MI. 49501) is a 32-page assortment of letters and reprinted articles primarily from the anti-market, non-statist radical milieu. Each issue usually includes several ongoing debates over the meanings of communism, Marxism, unionism, democracy and revolution, with some occasionally interesting and enlightening comments. The March-April issue includes John Bekken's (mild) criticisms of Noam Chomsky, and a debate over whether the ruling class "conspires" or "does what comes naturally." Wide open to participation from readers. Subscriptions are \$3/year (6 issues). [JM]

EARTH FIRST!

The Radical Environmental Journal Vol. 19, No. 2/Dec-Jan 1999 (POB 1415, Eugene, OR 97440; e-mail: earthfirst@igc.apc.org; web: www.envirolink.org/orgs/ef) is a 40-page, bi-monthly newspaper from the radical direct action wing of the environmental movement. This issue covers the Earth Liberation Front arson attack in Vail, Colorado, a lengthy article about the latest list of victims getting pied by the Biotic Baking Brigade, the Makah Whale Hunt, and recent actions against Home Depot. On the international front, there is news about Nigerian youths occupying oil wells, the indigenous uprising in Venezuela, and recent actions in Kenya to sabotage upscale residential developments in Nairobi's Karura Forest. A subscription is \$25/6 issues, \$20 for low-income. [TW]

EXTRA!

Vol.12.#1/Jan.-Feb. & #3/May-June '99 (Subscription Services, POB 170, Congers, NY 10920-9930; www.fair.org) is the 28-page bimonthly magazine of FAIR (Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting), a "national media watch group that offers well-documented criticism of media bias and censorship," published from a left-liberal perspective. The March-April issue covers Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott's longstanding association with the racist Council of Conservative Citizens (successor to the old White Citizens Councils which fought the Civil Rights movement in the 1950s & 1960s), along with the covert racism of the conservative American Enterprise Institute "think tank." The May-June issue features criticism of the asinine coverage of Social Security by the corporate press, along with editor Jim Naureckas' attempt to resituate the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia within a more revealing historical context in "Rescued from the Memory Hole." Recommend-

REVIEWS

Alternative Press Magazines

ed. Subscriptions are \$19/year (including the bimonthly newsletter, **EXTRA! Update**). [JM]

FIFTH ESTATE

#352/Winter '99 (4632 Second Ave., Detroit, MI 48201) is a 36-page anti-civilization, anarcho-primitivist tabloid, often publishing some of the more intelligent writing in the radical milieu. The Winter '99 issue includes G.L. Doeblar on the continuing debasement of the Haymarket Monument in Chicago by labor goons and their lapdog historians in "The Contest for Memory," Miguel Xolotl (David Watson) on the sickening record of "Israel: 50 Years of Conquest," along with an "Interview with a Chinese Rebel" now living in Barcelona named Mu Xidi. Single copies are \$2; subscriptions are \$8/4 issues. [JM]

FREE INQUIRY

Celebrating Reason and Humanity

Vol.19,#2/Spring '99 (Box 664, Buffalo, NY 14226-0664) is a slick, professionally-produced 68-page quarterly magazine published by the Council for Secular Humanism. The Spring '99 issue features a series of articles once again warning us about "The Population Bomb" (typically, treated as though the question of population has no wider social or political context beyond that of monopoly capitalism), a short interview with science fiction writer Arthur C. Clarke, and a reprint of Barbara Epstein's "Why Postmodernism is Not Progressive" (from the **Socialist Review**). Despite the often shallow level of most articles, including the irritatingly conservative assumptions that capitalism and statism should never be questioned, this magazine remains an important source for current humanist thinking. Subscriptions are \$28.50/year. [JM]

FREEDOM

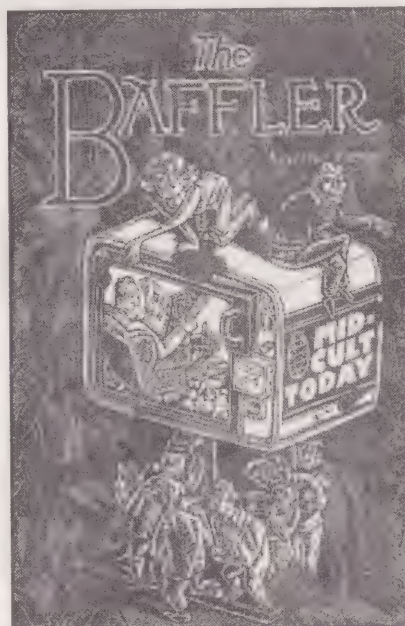
Anarchist Fortnightly

Vol.59,#20/17 Oct.'98 thru Vol.60,#10/15 May '99 (84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX, England; web: www.tao.ca/~freedom; e-mail: freedom@tao.ca) is a long-running 8-page tabloid of anarchist news and comment on British and international social struggles. The Nov. 14 issue continues this publication's coverage of last year's failed MAI (Multilateral Agreement on Investment) negotiations. The Nov. 28 issue includes a survey of "Anarchism in Colombia" (South America) by the Alas de Xué ("Earth") group there. And the cover story for the April 17 issue is aptly titled "Hi-tech cowardice over Balkans"—I haven't yet seen a better 5-word description of NATO's rain of aerial destruction. North American subscriptions are £22/year (24 issues). [JM]

FUCKTOOTH

#23 (PO Box 353, Mentor, OH 44061; e-mail: jenangel@mindspring.com) is a personal zine so

popular that it has ads from record labels. The popularity of Jen Angel's zine doesn't detract from the fact that she has an interesting life and is an excellent writer. Too many personal zines are simply written by people who really live rather dull lives. In this issue Jen writes about her move away from San Francisco, where she spent a year editing the punk magazine **MaximumRockNRoll**. She also elaborates on her general theory of crushes, in other words, the various stages of falling in love. The best personal zine around. \$2 for a sample issue. [CM]



GAUNTLET

Exploring the Limits of Free Expression

#15/1998 (Gauntlet, Inc., Dept. 98A, 309 Powell Rd., Springfield, PA 19064) is a 138-page magazine devoted to exploring the limits of free speech. This issue deals with "The Many Faces of S/M." An underlying theme is American S/M subculture and how it is being discovered and mainstreamed by straight people. An intense interview with Mistress Ilsa Strix focuses on the practice of erotic piercing. Ilsa Strix also contributes some samples from her personal diary. A series of photographs by Justice Howard depicts religious themes with a mixture of fetish fashion and religious icons. An interview with comedian George Carlin touches on drugs and ends with Carlin agreeing that "property is theft." This issue also includes a Carlin humor piece titled "Politically Correct Language." Everyone doing S/M should play safe, so check out "When Good Scenes Go Bad" and "Keeping You Safe in the Land of Danger," the latter penned by Charlie Latour. Always interesting and always provocative. Sample is \$6.95 + \$2 p&h; Subscriptions (two issues) are \$16 [CM]

GIRLFRIENDS

Vol.4,#11/Nov.'98 thru Vol.5,#6/June '99 (3415 Cesar Chavez St., Suite 101, San Francisco, CA 94110) is a super-glossy, colorful, 48-page advertising-saturated, "Magazine of Lesbian Enjoyment." The March issue cover story gives a quick run-through of the new Hollywood action-heroine film genre from *Barbarella* to the upcoming *Danger Girls*. The May issue includes an interview with the star of *Claire of the Moon*, Trisha Todd. The June issue includes a rather disgusting "Girlfriends 1999 Lesbian Career Guide," in which the ten most lesbian-friendly corporations from the Fortune 500 are listed without a single word about their myriad corporate crimes (in fact, the listings all sound more like paid advertisements than editorial—no hints are given that it might make a lot more sense for anyone to avoid work in mega-corporations like Chase Manhattan, Monsanto Chemicals or Chevron Oil). Single copies are \$4.95; subscriptions are now \$29.95/year. [JM]

GNOSIS

A Journal of the Western Inner Tradition

#50/Winter '99 & #51/Spring '99 (POB 14820, San Francisco, CA. 94114-0820; web: www.gnosismagazine.com & www.lumen.org) is a well-crafted, nonstuffy, 74 to 80-page quarterly journal of gnostic spirituality. Unfortunately the Spring issue is the last that will appear, as publisher Jay Kinney has announced that "a confluence of circumstances and people that have enabled **Gnosis** to exist up till now have been unraveling at an ever-increasing pace." However, current and back issues remain available. The Winter issue, on a theme of "Good & Evil," features Jack Boulware on Anton LaVey's disintegrating Church of Satan, and an interview with loose cannon Robert Anton Wilson on conspiracies, aliens, media and Timothy Leary. The Spring issue covers the theme of "The Grail." Sample copies are \$10 postpaid, but back issues are now half price at \$5 each. [JM]

GREAT GOD PAN

The Champion of Californiana

#12 (POB 491, Hermosa Beach, CA 90254-0491; e-mail: pan@cyberverse.com) is a 122-page journal about California that is definitely not one of those glossy travel magazines that look like they are written by the Chamber of Commerce. "Gold Nuggets" is a round-up of brief news items about California, such as the recent closure of the submarine ride at Disneyland. "Site Specific" looks at landmarks and their connection to offbeat events, including a house on Topanga Canyon Road (L.A.) where Buffalo Springfield was busted for pot in 1968. One of the more interesting features, "L.A.: In search of the city," is a reprint of Michael Fessier's 1970 series of articles on working class towns around L.A., including Cudahy. This issue also includes art,

REVIEWS

Alternative Press Magazines

cartoons, books and music reviews (with an emphasis on California culture). Sample copies are \$4. Subscriptions are \$12/4 issues, Canada add \$1.50 per copy. [CM]

GREEN ANARCHIST

For the destruction of Civilization

#54-5 (double issue)/Spring '99 (BCM 1715, London WC1N 3XX, England) is an always interesting 28-page eco-anarchist, anti-civilization tabloid with a big emphasis on direct actions, but unfortunately-small type. The Spring issue has a GAndALF court case update by co-defendant Paul Rogers titled "Breaking the Teeth of Leviathan" (for those who haven't yet heard, the GAndALF defendants were all released after a £10 million prosecution!), a reprint from John Zerzan's "Nihilist's Dictionary" column, Glenn Parton's call for "Humans-in-the-Wilderness," a reprint of John Moore's less than convincing essay on "Bewilderness," along with his more coherent call to "Maximalist Anarchism, Anarchist Maximalism." Each issue also includes a "Diary of Ecodefense," a "Diary of Animal Liberation," and a "Diary of Community Resistance" (for those patient enough to sort through hundreds of headlines), as well as reviews, commentary and much more. This zine is well worth the price at \$5/5 issues. [JM]

GUINEA PIG ZERO

A Journal for Human Research Subjects #6 (POB 42531, Philadelphia, PA 19101) is a zine on human test subjects, i.e. "guinea pigs." This issue includes a fascinating account of the 19th century guinea pig Alexis St. Martin, a trapper who suffered a terrible accident that resulted in his stomach remaining open to the outside world. This article details how one unscrupulous doctor exploited St. Martin's bizarre condition for science experimentation, in a manner similar to some 20th century doctors. The famous Dishwasher Pete contributes report cards on two human research facilities. The editor includes his congressional testimony on delayed informed consent. Also includes zine, book and movie reviews as well as several news items on issues of interest to human guinea pigs. Highly recommended! \$3/sample copy. Subscriptions: \$10/4 issues U.S.A., \$16 Canada. [CM]

HERMENAUT

The Digest of Heady Philosophy

#14/Winter '98 (POB 141, Allston, MA 02134; web: www.birdhouse.org/words/hermenaut/; e-mail: editors@hermenaut.com) is a handsome 170-page journal of pop philosophy, or the philosophy of pop-culture, or pseudo-philosophical pop, or something like that. In practice it consists of highly personal visions—from wise to witty and from wilted to worthless—woven around themes you may well never have wanted to think about, even if they're

tapping you on your shoulder. Readers may find it charming or chimerical. It's your call. The cover theme for this issue is "Anorexia/Technology." Look here if you have a hankering for a mini-bio of (fanatically) saintly seer Simone Weil by editor Joshua Glenn, Lisa Carver's predictably sanguine "Interview with an Anorexic," an exhumation of Karen Carpenter by John Marr, or Clarke Cooper's erudite put-down of pumped up asteroid flicks in "My Life as a Wookiee." The cover price is still \$6; subscriptions are \$20/4 issues. [JM]



IN THESE TIMES

Vol.23,#11/May 2, '99 (Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647; web: www.inthesetimes.com) is a professionally-produced, 30-page fortnightly "alternative newsmagazine" providing an ongoing left-liberal perspective on major national and international news stories in a uniquely timely manner—impossible for periodicals appearing less frequently. The May 2nd issue features stories on the attempt to pass a state constitutional amendment in Illinois making health care a "right," the current attempt to gut Medicare in favor of vouchers, and stories on the continuing Israeli war against Palestinians. Subscriptions are \$34.95/year (26 issues), or \$18.95/6 months. [JM]

INDUSTRIALNATION

#16 (PO Box 23184, Pleasant Hill, CA 94523; e-mail: in@ripco.com) is a 98-page magazine devoted to industrial music. The influential band Chris and Cosey is interviewed, as well as The Legendary Pink Dots, Scot Jenerik, Front Line Assembly, Rx (Ritalin), and Clan of Xymox. Includes 24 pages of music reviews, which are thorough, quite critical, and often situate a record in the history of the genre. Cover price is \$2.95 [CM]

KICK IT OVER

A Social Anarchist/Anti-Authoritarian Publication #36/Winter 1999 (POB 1836, Guelph, ON N1H 7A1 Canada; e-mail: mbernar@uoguelph.ca) is a much improved 50-page magazine, back after a long absence. KIO has always been interesting because it focuses on practical projects. In this issue A.F. Moritz explores "The City in Anarchy" and Joseph Heathcott looks at ways to create more anarchists in "Broadening the Anarchist Gene Pool." Heathcott argues that anarchists possibly have more to learn from communities than communities have to learn from anarchists. An interview with the late Art Bartell, an Italian-Canadian anarchist, is inspiring because it shows how much one can do in a lifetime of activism. This issue concludes with an essay on anarchist art by Richard Kostelanetz. Cover price is \$3.75; subscriptions are \$14.50/year (US funds). [CM]

LIBERTY

Vol.13,#3/March thru #7/July '99 (POB 1167, Port Townsend, WA. 98368) is now a 64-page monthly "libertarian" magazine which attempts to make something of an intellectual case for its religious faith in "free market" economics and "private property." The March issue includes a warning that government Y2K preparations include military options for dealing with potential discontent, a look at the frenzied acquisition of Ayn Rand's manuscripts (who'd want to own such inferior prose besides cultists and speculators?), and an interesting update on "The Politics of Marijuana: The People Strike Back" by Paul Armentano. The July issue includes an excellent, skeptical look at the absurdity pro-NATO-bombing propaganda by David Steele. Subscriptions are now \$29.50/year (12 issues). [JM]

LIBIDO

A Journal of Sex and Sensibility Vol.10,#4/Winter 1998-99 (POB 146721, Chicago, IL 60614) is a slick 81-page journal of sexuality which offers everything from erotic stories to photography to short news items. This issue includes the winners of the 1998 Libido Fiction Contest. The winner is Wayne Jones' "Thing Can Move" which is about a sensual relationship between two men and a visiting German woman. This story is more literary than erotic, but a good example of the high quality prose that **Libido** publishes. The erotic photography is excellent and far more interesting than your typical porn. Sexologist Carol Queen reports on efforts to save a historical whorehouse in Butte, Montana, which operated from 1890 to 1982. There are plans to turn it into a museum. Also included is an excellent review section. Cover price is \$8 and subscriptions are \$30/year. [CM]

LOVING MORE

#17/Spring '99 (POB 4358, Boulder, CO 80306-4358; e-mail: ryam@lovemore.com; web site:

REVIEWS

Alternative Press Magazines

www.lovemore.com) is a comfortably readable, quarterly 40-page polyfidelity magazine for all those unhappy with the limitations of monogamy, whether it be lifetime or serial! This issue's theme is 'New Relationship Energy,' including many short pieces like Roma Weiss' on "My Husband's Girlfriend," Leanna Wolf's interesting research on "African Polygamy," and Deborah Anapol's 'On Jealousy.' Also included in each issue are reviews, personal ads and news briefs. Cover price is \$6; subscriptions are \$24/year. [JM]

MAGNET

Real Music Alternatives

#39/April-May 1999 (1218 Chestnut St., Ste 808, Philadelphia, PA 19107-4816; e-mail: magnetmag@aol.com; web: www.magnetmagazine.com)

is a slick, professional-looking, 100-page alternative rock music magazine featuring plenty of news, information, interviews and reviews of indie artists and alternarock hipsters. This issue features interviews with Sleater-Kinney, Beth Orton, Cobra Verde, Olivia Tremor Control, Built to Spill and XTC's Andy Partridge. If indie rock is your bag, **Magnet** does a pretty decent job of covering the scene. A subscription is \$14.95/6 issues. [TW]

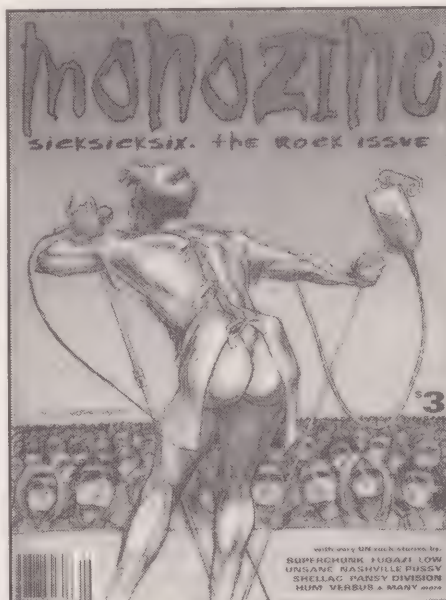
THE MATCH!

#93/Winter '98-99 (POB 3012, Tucson, AZ 85702) is an irregularly-published 72-page anarchist journal, lovingly self-printed by always cantankerous—but increasingly loony—editor/publisher Fred Woodworth. The articles in this issue continue to focus on the rampant abuses heaped upon innocent people by authoritarian institutions, especially by cops, courts and prisons, along with criticisms of the authoritarian and labor-increasing effects of computer technologies. In this issue, though, Woodworth seems to be finally going over the edge, launching vituperative denunciations at everyone and everything from **Anarchy** magazine ("a creepy, downright horrifying magazine," etc., etc.!) & Lorenzo Komboa Ervin to the Spanish anarchist movement, and from the Independent Press Association to the Spanish language. Subscriptions are still worth the \$10/4 issues (cash only) if the editor's increasingly violent denunciations of almost all other anarchists don't put you off. [JM]

MAXIMUMROCKNROLL

#192/May 1999 (POB 460760, SE, CA 94146-0760; e-mail: maximumrnr@mindspring.com) is a thick, newsprint punk zine that continues to chug along despite the death of founder Tim Yohannan. The format hasn't changed much since his death so you can continue to read the latest rantings from over a dozen columnists including such stalwarts as Mykel Board, "Lefty" Hooligan, Mark Hanford and Ted Rall, scene reports from diverse places as Washington

state, Nepal and Burma, and lots and lots of punk rock interviews. On the political side, this issue features an interview with San Francisco mayor Willie Brown who apparently became more and more agitated as the interview progressed which eventually deteriorated into an argument. There's also an overview of the Biotic Baking Brigade and the six-month sentence handed down to three SanFran pie tossers, and part 2 of Noam Chomsky's "Propaganda and Control of the Public Mind." Your fingers will get pretty filthy from all the cheap newsprint but it's definitely worth it. Send \$3 for a sample, \$18 for a 6-issue subscription. [TW]



MONOZINE

The Rock Issue

#6/undated (POB 598, Reisterstown, MD 21136; e-mail: monozine@yahoo.com) is a gruesomely entertaining, 54-page zine filled with outrageous, descriptive and very detailed personal accounts of people's worst illnesses and injuries in all their horrific glory. This issue is a brief departure from the standard format of printing a variety of stories from their readers. "The Rock Issue" features dozens of, um, very *unrock*-like stories by members of Superchunk, Nashville Pussy, Shellac, Pansy Division, The Make-Up, Mudhoney, and Fugazi, among others. Fugazi's Ian Mackaye penned a lengthy and very graphic account of his 20-day hospital stay in New Zealand back in 1997, providing a sometimes hilarious, sometimes grotesque account of some bizarre symptoms to a rather unusual illness. Definitely recommended, although I would encourage hypochondriacs to avoid this zine. Great cover. Send \$3 for a sample copy. [TW]

MSRRT NEWSLETTER

Vol.12,#1/Spring '99 (Chris Dodge/Jan DeSirey, 4645 Columbus Ave. S., Mpls, MN. 55407) is now a quarterly 12-page "socially-responsible" librarians' newsletter. Each issue includes library news, interesting alternative periodical reviews and a few capsule small press book reviews. Subscriptions are \$15/year. [JM]

OFF OUR BACKS

Vol.29,#5/May '99 (2337B 18th St. NW, Washington, DC 20009) is a longstanding 18-page feminist news tabloid with a strong emphasis on international coverage and lesbian separatist issues. The May issue focusses on "Women and War in Kosovo," with views (mostly) for and against the disastrous NATO bombing campaign, including a sadly naive and ahistorical vote for imperialist war by longtime *oob* collective member Carol Anne Douglas. The issue also includes "Liberal Feminists Sell their Souls for Clinton" by radical feminist Judith Paige. Each issue now includes a long listing of "Festivals and Meetings." Subscriptions are now \$25/year (11 issues).

PR WATCH

Vol.6,#1/First Quarter '99 (3318 Gregory St., Madison, WI 53711; website: www.prwatch.org) is a very important 12-page newsletter of "Public Interest Reporting on the Public Relations Industry," certainly one of the pillars of capitalist ideological strength. This issue features a profile of Peter Sandman, whose unorthodox PR "risk communication" strategies are influencing many major corporate polluters in their choices of how best to co-opt community opposition. This is valuable stuff—of which every activist should be aware. Subscriptions are \$35/year. [JM]

PUNCTURE

The Magazine About Music That Matters

#43/early 1999 (POB 14806, Portland, OR 97293; e-mail: puncture@teleport.com) is a 68-page glossy alterna-rock magazine featuring an interview with Bikini Kill singer Kathleen Hanna, the Mekons, Olivia Tremor Control, and flamboyant showman Bobby Conn. **Puncture** also has a huge record review section with lengthy, detailed reviews of the latest records ranging from remote and obscure indies to the latest releases from more well-established artists. Subscriptions are \$10/4 issues. [TW]

RUDE INTERNATIONAL

#2 & #3 (POB 391302, Cambridge, MA 02139; e-mail: rude@rudeinternational.com; web: www.rudeinternational.com) is a bi-annual, 68-page music magazine covering the reggae, ska and punk scenes. #2 is their "punk" issue featuring Rancid, The Business, The Suicide Machines, and the Slackers. There's even an article by Mark Higgins,

Alternative Press Magazines

stage manager for the Mighty Mighty Bosstones, on "The Do's and Don't of Stage Diving." Issue #3 has a rather light but entertaining interview with former Clash frontman, Joe Strummer, and a more sobering in-depth look at last year's Las Vegas skinhead murders. Subscriptions are \$12/4 issues. [TW]

SKEPTICAL INQUIRER

Vol.23,#3/May-June '99 (Box 703, Buffalo, NY 14226-0703) is the always readable and often interesting 72-page bimonthly "Magazine for Science and Reason," published by the Committee for the Scientific Investigation of Claims of the Paranormal (CSICOP). Although its writers too often promote a dogmatic scientism, they nevertheless occasionally provide genuinely unbiased evidence to debunk many of the non-scientific targets that they investigate and analyze. The May-June issue includes debunkings of Bigfoot (in "Bigfoot's Screen Test" and "Tracking Bigfoot on the Internet") and urban legends ("The Snuff Film: The Making of an Urban Legend" and "Bitter Harvest: The Organ-Snatching Urban Legends"), along with a valuable review of Philip Davis' *The Goddess Unmasked*. Despite its often overt biases and conflicts of interest, this journal includes worthwhile & critical information for our overly gullible society. Subscriptions are \$35/year. [JM]

SOCIAL ANARCHISM

A Journal of Theory and Practice #24 thru #26/1998-99 (Atlantic Center for Research and Education, 2473 Maryland Ave., Baltimore, MD 21218) is a 96 to 112-page biannual anarchist journal with an intended bias towards the social over the individual, although in actual practice it tends towards eclecticism. The tone is predominantly sober and academic, and the slant is liberal to radically reformist with occasional pro-revolutionary contributions. Issue #24 features a moderately interesting account of "Ebonics, Language and Power" by Mike Long, along with the start of a symposium on "The Anarchist Agenda" including invited contributions from a range of anarchists with predictably inconsistent results (Brian Martin wants non-violent action, Joseph Heathcott wants anarchist activists to submerge themselves in non-anarchist struggles; Michael Bacon wants anarchists to move to Philadelphia to help create "alternatives to capitalist economics"; while Richard Kostelanetz argues against anarchy and in favor of capitalism; and editor Howard Ehrlich states that our "primary task...is to create anarchists"). Issue #25 features Jeff Ferrell's "Against the Law: Anarchist Criminology," along with a few more radical attempts at suggesting "The Anarchist Agenda" (including my own). Issue #26

features a long "Look inside Japan's Seikatsu Club Consumers' Cooperative" by Richard Evanoff (for whom cooperatives are strangely non-capitalist), an unconvincing "anarchist" defense of politically separatist and nationalist "self-determination" by Matt Hern, an apology for the continued existence of anarcho-syndicalism penned by Jeff Stein, and Jane Meyerding's bizarre reinterpretation of individual differences (arguing from her own experiences) in terms of "neurological differences" (with barely a hint of concern for historical or social theory). Single copy \$4.00; subscriptions \$14/4 issues or \$20/4 issues (foreign). [JM]

TEMP SLAVE

#12/undated (POB 8284, Madison, WI 53708-8284) is a mischievous and wildly amusing zine documenting the often unpleasant and bitter experiences of temp workers and the drudgery of the workplace. This long awaited issue serves up yet another vicious thrashing of the temp industry with a variety of folks writing about their job experiences, their crappy bosses and shallow lackeys, and their creative acts of workplace sabotage. Stories include a temp worker's horrendous experience working for a "tickets-by-mail" program run by the 3rd rate Grateful Dead-wannabe rock band, Phish, a list of tips for suitpukes (a term for bosses and supervisors), Keffo shares his thoughts on the Y2K hype and recounts his experiences promoting his book in "Circle of Pain - On the Road: The Temp Slave Book Tour." Send \$3 cash for a sample copy or \$8 for a 3-issue subscription. [TW]

UTNE READER

#91/Jan.-Feb. thru #93/May-June '99 (POB 7459, Red Oak, IA 51591-2459) is by now a mostly-mainstream, advertising-infested, 128-page "alternative press" reader for new age/baby boom liberals, concentrating on reprinting articles from mainstream & marginally "alternative" publications, along with a very small number of genuinely alternative pieces thrown in. The Jan.-Feb. issue features a cover theme of "Good Work: Find your Way to a Job that Matters" (don't look for any critique of capitalism here, just remember that "We must be patient with ourselves and others as we being the difficult personal and collective search for good work.") Subscriptions are \$19.97/year (6 issues). [JM]

THE VOLUNTARYIST

#98/June '99 (POB 1275, Gramling, SC 29348) is a nicely-printed, 8-page bimonthly newsletter promoting voluntary social relations and private property (and "not voluntary communal property"). This issue features John Hasnas' "The Myth of The Rule of Law: Part II," which argues the unavoidable truth that law is intensely political and not an objective or natural phenomenon (if only this same

Whether you are a zine producer, a fan or a LOTO (definition is in the book) you will probably attend at least one convention.

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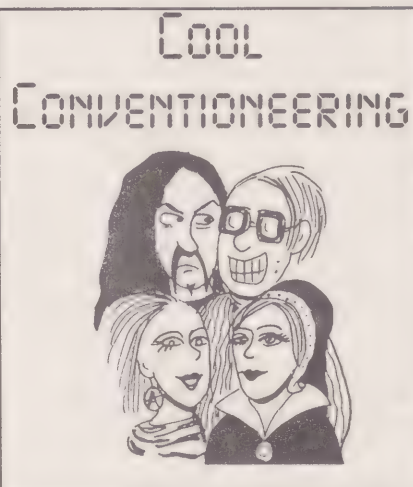
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REVIEWS

Alternative Press Magazines

critique could be turned on the rule of capital & market as well, this zine would be a whole lot better). Subscriptions are \$18/year (or .045oz or 1.4gm of fine gold!). [JM]

THE WASHINGTON FREE PRESS

#39/May-June '99 (1463 E. Republican St., #178, Seattle, WA 98112; web: www.speakeasy.org/wfp) is a bimonthly 16-page alternative community tabloid serving the Seattle area. This issue features a section of "War News," including information on the reckless disregard NATO has shown for the human, cultural and ecological results of its bombing campaign in Yugoslavia. Greg Bates interviews media critic Norman Solomon. And Greg Turner contributes his "Confessions of a Corporate Bookseller," recounting all the petty compromises he was forced to make during his years working at Borders and Barnes & Noble stores. There's no excuse for missing this paper if you live in Seattle, but it's worth a read wherever you live. Subscriptions are still \$12/year. [JM]

ZINE WORLD

#10/Spring 1999 (537 Jones Street #2386, SF, CA 94102; e-mail: ZineWorld@bigfoot.com) is a real big, thick 104-page review zine with hundreds of reviews here. **Zine World** used to have a very stringent review policy—devoting its pages strictly to small-scale periodicals—but that policy has been relaxed over time. Now you can find reviews of glossy periodicals with UPC symbols like **Angry Thoreauan**, even **Alternative Press Review**, along with the usual fare. **Zine World** also includes some double reviews, allowing readers to get the perspectives of two different reviewers for the same zine. Some of the reviews can be a bit nasty and critical but there are some thoughtful and enthusiastic reviews too. **Zine World** is also a tremendous resource guide chock full of information and listings, as well as a very informative news section. Definitely recommended. Samples are \$3; subscriptions are \$11/4 issues. [TW]

First Time Listings

20,000 LEGS UNDER THE SEA

The 1998 Killer Frog Anthology (Janet Fox, 519 Ellinwood, Osage City, KS 66523-1329; e-mail: foxcav1@jc.net; web: www.cza.com/scav/index.html) is a 28-page zine anthology of horror poetry, prose, and art. It's put out by the folks who do **Scavenger's Newsletter** (a "marketletter" for SF/Horror writers). The highlight here is a poem about a baseball-obsessed guy and his "Lesbian

Vampire Wife." Also includes a short story on haunted plumbing and too many bad drawings of frogs. Sample copy is \$4.50 ppd. [CM]

THE BLACK-CLAD MESSENGER

Actualizing Industrial Collapse

#1-#3/undated (POB 11331, Eugene, OR 97401) is an energetic, promising new 8 to 16-page zine that "wants to hasten the disappearance of this whole stinking order." No truck with liberalism or leftism here. The first issue includes "The Promise of the 90s," Theresa Kintz's "Fanning the Flames of Resistance" (on the recent Vail ski lodge arson, the



Earth Liberation Front and Earth First!), and a letter from Ted Kaczynski encouraging the formation of a tighter, more cohesive eco-radical movement. The second issue includes some trenchant comments by Bob Black on press reports of the trashing of a cop's van by Oregon anarchists, and reprints from Fredy Perlman's *Against His-Story, Against Leviathan!* and of John Zerzan's "Niceism" from **Anarchy** magazine. The third issue has an impressive overview of "What's Happening in Kosovo? An Anarchist's Perspective," a reprinting of the "Preface to the Second Edition of *Elements of Refusal*" by John Zerzan, and a centerfold insert consisting of a pair of posters. Send a contribution for a copy. [JM]

BLU

#2 (PO Box 517, New Paltz, NY 12561; e-mail: PeteM@brudershof.com) is a 32-page activist zine that now includes a CD with every issue. Activists associated with the Bruderhof religious community in New York publish **Blu**. From a design standpoint, this is one of the most handsome activist zines around. It's refreshing to see activists make full use of computer technology and still manage to publish

something that is readable. Features include Desmond Tutu and the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, updates on political prisoners, and a look back at the Young Lords Organization, which was the Puerto Rican equivalent of the Black Panthers. The CD includes hip hop and a cool song by an a cappella choir. An activist zine worth checking out. Sample copies are \$5 and subscriptions are \$27/year. [CM]

COM-LETE CON-TROL

#3/undated (POB 5021, Richmond, VA 23220) is an unpaginated little personal/political zine featuring accounts of squatting, road trips, recent demos attended, a revolutionary tourist trip to Chiapas, and an interview with George Jackson Brigade member Ed Mead (released from 18 years of prison in 1993) on "Armed Struggles in America." This is a simple, amusing, entertaining zine. Sample copies are 55¢ each or 2 for \$1. [JM]

CONDUIT

"Drunk Genius: Euphoria, Inebriation & Creativity" #6/Fall 1998 (510 Eighth Avenue Northeast, Minneapolis, MN 55413; e-mail: conduit@bitsream.net) is a nicely-designed literary magazine featuring poetry, drawings, prose, and an interview with Terence McKenna. \$4 sample, \$12/3 issues. [CM]

FERAL

a journal towards wildness

#1/Spring '99 (530 Divisadero, #321, San Francisco, CA 94117; e-mail: highwater@hotmail.com) is a beautiful new quarterly, 30-page zine (with a very nice full-color cover) that wants to put a lot more wildness into the ecology & anarchist movements. Unfortunately, the contents are disappointing, with poor writing, a lack of editing, and less than consistent reasoning evident in too many articles of this first issue. Contents include Joanne Lauck on "The Transformative Power of the Wild" (speaking primarily of insect/human encounters), Patricia Freund's incoherent tract on "Endangered Species: Techno-Humanism and Vanishing Humanity—A Beginner's Guide" (in dire need of editing and re-writing), James Barnes' absurd sermon on "Biocentrism as a Moral Imperative," and David Orton's confused attempt at the amalgamation of leftism and deep ecology in "My Path to Left Biocentrism." On the brighter side, this issue also includes a couple pages of often-stimulating questions titled "The Politics of Daily Life," along with a couple decent reprints from **Anarchy** magazine by Feral Faun ("Feral Revolution") and John Zerzan ("Postscript to Future Primitive: On the Transition"). This zine shows some promise. Let's hope for more coherent writing next time. The cover price is \$3. [JM]

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FUSE MAGAZINE

Vol.21, #4/Fall 1998 (401 Richmond St. West, Suite 454, Toronto, Canada, M5V 3A8; e-mail: fuse@interlog.com) is a quarterly Canadian magazine of the arts. In this issue, Laura U. Marks examines Inuit television and video-making and analyzes how southern Canadian critics have reacted to these native auteurs. It looks like cooperatives of all kinds have problems in capitalist economies. Curator Reid Shier writes about Artist-run Centres, which get government funding, and their tendency over time to become more professionalized and less artist-run. In "Black W/Holes," M. Nourbese Philip rants about what it is like being dark-skinned in white supremacist Canada. This personable essay stands out from the typical rant about living under white supremacy. Some of the writing is a bit academic, but otherwise this magazine is suffused with political consciousness. \$20/year, \$24 U.S.A. [CM]

HARBINGER

Leaving the 20th Century

#2/undated (Crimethinc, 2695 Rangewood Dr., Atlanta, GA 30345) is an important new 12-page tabloid which takes the idea of a "revolution of everyday life" more seriously than most. An interesting mix of provocation, critique, radical evangelism & anti-evangelism, and calls to utopian action. This issue includes an amusing rant aimed at anarcho-leftists titled "Face it, your politics are boring as fuck" by Nadia C., an analysis of spectacular culture titled "We Look for Life in the Image of Life," and a lengthy examination of "What's so Bad about Capitalism?" Here's a sample quote from the latter: "Don't be paralyzed by the seeming vastness of the forces arrayed against us, or be tricked into serving other forces against them. Find ways to escape...in your own life, and take others with you when you can...." Send for a copy today. The price is right. It's free for the asking, though it might be nice to include a donation. [JM]

HUES

January-February 1999 (POB 3587, Duluth, MN 55803-3587; e-mail: newmoon@computerpro.com; web: www.newmoon.com) is a slick magazine that aims to empower young women. Of interest in this issue is a great educational article on one woman's struggle with genital warts and an interview with sexologist Carol Queen. Lisa Miya-Jervis puzzles over taking her husband's last name when they get married. Several women of various racial backgrounds discuss the challenges of having relationships with people from a vastly different background. Cover price is \$3.95 and subscriptions are \$19.99/6 issues. [CM]

INDY UNLEASHED

Our National Dialogue on Race

#7/Spring '99 (Owen Thomas, POB 9651, Columbus, OH 43209; e-mail: vlorbik@delphi.com; web: people.delphi.com/vlorbik) is a 12-page zine consisting of literate reviews of zines and comics. Enjoyable, light reading. Too bad it's not longer. Sample copies are \$1.65. [JM]

LIP

#11/Jan.-Feb.'99 (1400 West Devon #243, Chicago, IL 60660; e-mail: lip@enteract.com) is a very nicely-produced 64-page magazine of "radical



common sense." My major complaint is the exceedingly small typeface which makes reading it a pain. But if you have good eyes, this is an interesting, sometimes provocative read. The Jan.-Feb. issue includes a good overview by Kari Lydersenn of the "Shame of the Cities: Gentrification in the New Urban America" (though it unfortunately doesn't cover wider historical connections of capitalist development), an interesting "where are they now" update on 1970s urban guerrillas now out of prison and back in the midst of mainstream U.S. society by Daniel Burton-Rose, and Greg Ruggiero on "Pirate Radio vs. Corporate Piracy: Who Owns the Air?" Subscriptions are \$24/year (six issues). [JM]

MAD SCIENTIST

Journal of Science Gone Awry

#1.1/Winter 1998 (Media-Arts, PO Box 4765, Clearwater, FL 337 58) is a 42-page color laserprinted zine that aims to tell a science fiction story set to pictures, but the whole effort, including the poor binding, comes across as a zine done by somebody in high school with too much time and

computer equipment on their hands. The story and content is juvenile and the art uninspired. There are many teenagers doing excellent zines out there, but this is middle-of-the-pack material. Samples are \$5 and subscriptions are \$20/4 issues. [CM]

THE NEW ABOLITIONIST

"Abolish the White Race—By any Means Necessary"

Vol.2, #2/April & #3/May '99 (c/o D.C. Abolitionists, 326½ 16th NE, Washington, DC 20002; web: www.newabolition.org) is an 8-page newsletter critical of the white race as socially-constructed, rather than a biological or natural phenomenon. "The key to solving the social problems of our age is to abolish the white race...." The April issue mainly consists of anecdotes about racist mistreatment of North American blacks, along with "Eight Questions for the Free Mumia Movement" asking why more people supporting Mumia don't extend their critique to call for the abolition of the entire "legal system." Cover price is 50¢; subscriptions are \$10/year. [JM]

NEW MOON

The Magazine for Girls and their Dreams

Vol.6, #3/January-February 1999 (POB 3587, Duluth, MN 55803-3587; e-mail: newmoon@newmoon.org; web: www.newmoon.org) is a magazine for and written by girls. In this issue, Normalynn Ethelbah recounts her coming of age ceremony (Sunrise Dance) on the White Mountain Apache Reservation, 16-year-old Handarmaa writes about what it is like being a girl in Mongolia, and Michelle Perez talks about going through Quinceñera, a Hispanic coming-of-age ceremony. It's good to see Deb Mylin and Bridget Grosser's article "Rights vs. Rites" which delicately deals with female genital mutilation in Africa. Regular features include "Ask a Girl," "How Aggravating," and "Howling at the Moon" where girls can share their concerns about sexism and gender equity. New Moon also provides a secure pen pal service. I'm getting my niece a subscription to New Moon when she gets old enough. Subscriptions: \$29/6 issues, \$34 Canada. [CM]

OFF-LINE

#1/Winter 1999 (35 Barker Ave. #4G, White Plains, NY 10601) is a 32-page zine published by an activist couple, which means more attention is paid to musings about political things than your typical personal zine. Vincent ruminates on what it means to live in a capitalist society in "Individual Choice and Responsibility." Claire talks about doing civil disobedience at the School of Americas in Fort Benning, GA. Finally, Vincent reviews 3 audio and videotapes published by the Free Radio Maine project. Samples are free, but send some money so they can buy stamps. [CM]

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PASSIONATE AND DANGEROUS

#1 (POB 63232, St. Louis, MO 63163) is an exciting 70-page zine of interviews with anarchists living and struggling in America's Midwest. People would probably be surprised to find out that there are anarchists in the Midwest and even more amazed to discover the interesting things they are up to. Smell the pleasant odors coming from the City of Little Bread cooperative bakery in St. Louis and the "Back Alley Bakery" operating in a secret squatted space somewhere in the Midwest. Learn from Sarah about the Women's Health Education Project and how DIY women's health projects work. John Johnson discusses his work with the ecological direct action group Dogwood Alliance in Tennessee and how it relates to his anarchist beliefs. This is just an awesome collection of interviews with people involved in practical anarchist projects: microradio, infoshops and community spaces, housing cooperatives, alternative publishing, community organizing, alternative media and culture, anti-hunger, radical ecology and queer activism. Sample copies are \$4. [CM]

SCAPEGOAT

#11 (POB 381198, Hollywood, CA 90038-1198) is a slick 36-page magazine for Satanists. This issue kicks off with several good-byes to Satanism's recently departed spiritual leader, Anton LaVey (author of *The Satanic Bible*). After the obligatory religiosity, this zine has a music review section, an interview with the band Death in June, and only two other features of interest. Alternative publisher Adam Parfrey (Feral House) is interviewed and we learn that he is working on a new edition of the infamous anthology *Apocalypse Culture*. Also of interest is an interview and photospread of an anonymous artist who does some interesting photorealist figure drawings with blood smeared on them. Single copy is \$5 and subscriptions are \$15. [CM]

SPEAKING PHAIRLY

(Growing up with the music of Liz Phair) (Low Hug Productions, A.J. Michel, Station A, PO Box 2574, Champaign, IL 61825-2574) is a little zine about how the music of Liz Phair has interacted with the life of one woman. The writing is excellent and the personal approach really helps one understand Liz Phair's music, which is full of her own personal references. The author shows maturity about her subject and is able to be critical without worshipping Liz too much. \$1 each. [CM]

TEN THINGS JESUS WANTS YOU TO KNOW

#20/undated (8315 Lake City Way NE #192, Seattle, WA 98115; e-mail: tenthingszine@yahoo.com; web: www.10things.com) is a lively and engaging punk zine that shares some similarities with *MRR* and *Punk Planet*, but with a more regional flair (there is plenty of coverage of the Pacific Northwest scene),

and a bit more of a free-wheelin' attitude. The similarities include plenty of columnists, including former *MRR* columnist Ben Weasel who takes a few shots at *MRR*, band interviews (the Catheters, Misfits, Portrait of Poverty, June of 44), regional news and scene reports, plus lots of zine and record reviews. Other items of interest includes a pair of short interviews with erotic performance artists who operate their own DIY live-cam websites, a series of answers from folks talking about how and when they lost their virginity, and editor Dan Halligan tells us about his experiences drinking, gambling and getting married in Las Vegas. Who said punk isn't fun anymore? A sample copy is \$3. [TW]



TRUE DEMOCRACY

Spring 1999 (News Source Inc., POB 269, White Plains, NY 10602-0269) is a new, professional-looking 44-page magazine that claims it will "print nothing but the truth as researched by professionals." The main article is yet another spin of the Kennedy assassination as a massive government conspiracy and the editor has dedicated this issue "to the Kennedy children and grandchildren of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy, our beloved president who was assassinated because he wanted to disband the FBI and CIA." This ought to generate plenty of skepticism regarding the definition of their so-called "truth." Other articles include examining the Trilateral Commission's effect on the Middle East and the FBI's program on library awareness. Nearly one-third of the magazine is a reference listing of *all* the US house & senate members, with their address, fax, & tel #'s. There is also has a list of demands that range from disbanding the CIA, to mandating life in prison for rapists, to finding a cure for genital herpes. My favorite: "Get the dictator out of power in Iran and allow the new shah to return to lead his country." Now that is an odd way to promote true democracy. Send \$3 for a sample copy. [TW]

TWENTY ONE

#1/Winter 1998 (Post Adolescent Press, Cooper Station, POB 1032, New York, NY 10276; e-mail: Dear21@aol.com; web: www.21mag.com) is a new 32-page zine aimed at the swing dancing, twenty-something crowd. Includes "Bar Etiquette for Beginners" and some tips on "How to be a Jerk," as if anybody would really want to be one. Pretty superficial stuff, typical for a lifestyle zine. \$3 ppd. [CM]

WRESTLING THEN & NOW

#100 (POB 640471, Oaklawn Gardens Station, Flushing, NY 11364; e-mail: lekkerspikkels@msn.com) is a sports zine devoted to exploring the historical roots of wrestling. This is their 100th anniversary issue, a rarity in the zine world, which gives them reason to pause and look back at their history and the history of the genre. The latter is fascinating, because at some point years ago there were dozens of wrestling zines around, but now only a few. Now the genre seems to be dominated by glossy magazines that slavishly follow the WWF tour. Most of the essays in this issue are from folks who pay tribute to WTN's staying power and look back at the history of the genre. Don't miss the column by regular columnist Killer Kowalski. \$2/copy; \$10/six months; \$20/year. [CM]

ZINE GUIDE

#2/Winter-Spring 1999 (POB 5467, Evanston, IL 60204; e-mail: zineguide@interaccess.com) is a 190-page zine that is an invaluable reference tool for just about any serious zinester. I even consulted this zine once while writing a review for another zine. This looks like *Factsheet Five*, but it really doesn't review the contents of zines, it just lists their contents and contact information. But the scope is so massive that a majority of zines now being published must be included. Lots of zine covers are depicted, which greatly enhances the look of this guide. Many of the zine entries include a review blurb from another zine publisher. Some of the zines are ranked according to reader surveys such as "Favorite Zine Among Other Zines" and "Favorite Zines Among Females." Other reader survey results are compiled into special sections, for example: "Who did you interview in your first issue?" and "What zines were your inspiration?" Also included are a Band/Musician index, a Person index (who's who in zines), a Subject/Place index (an attempt to create a subject index of zines), a Record Label index, and Zine Classifieds. If you are a librarian, this zine belongs in your reference collection. Highly recommended. Send \$6 for a sample copy. Subscriptions are \$18/4issues. [CM]

BOOK REVIEWS

Objectivity and Liberal Scholarship

Objectivity and Liberal Scholarship by Noam Chomsky (Black & Red, POB 02374, Detroit, MI 48202, 1997) 142pp. **no price listed**, paper.

Noam Chomsky needs little introduction these days, with his essays, books and public appearances proliferating throughout the world—or at least that part of the world with the least bit of critical social consciousness. However, Chomsky's prolific output also means that even the most diligent of readers have often encountered only a portion of his published works. *Objectivity and Liberal Scholarship* is a new book-length edition of the seminal, lead essay from Chomsky's first important (and now out-of-print) work of social criticism, *American Power and the New Mandarins*, which originally appeared in 1969.

Unmasking the lies of liberal scholarship, which continue unabated—though not unopposed—in our own time, in this essay Chomsky demolishes the self-serving accounts of the U.S.-Indochina War and the Spanish Civil War by the “new mandarins” in the U.S. universities of the 1960s. Chomsky notes that these university academics weren't always in agreement with every detail of the near genocidal American policies in Southeast Asia that they served. But, all the same, they quite willingly turned their scholarship into one more set of weapons that eventually helped kill millions who stood in the way of American corporate and state power.

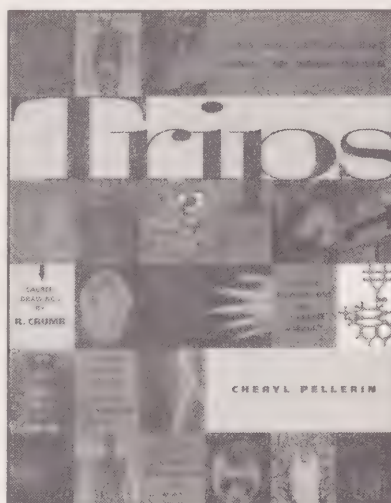
And, though liberal historian Hugh Thomas was not a direct sympathizer with Francisco Franco's military/fascist takeover in the Spanish Civil War, Chomsky also details how his account of the complex struggle in Spain serves to obscure the heroic self-activity of the revolutionary masses of workers, both Marxist and anarchist.

For liberal academia the popular self-activity of common people counts for nothing. Always focusing on the activities and interests of political, military and economic elites, liberals can only interpret the world in terms of hierarchical power. And as such they always remain complicit with that power—and the mass death, social destruction and alienation which accompany it. **-J.M.**

Little Tenement on the Volga

Little Tenement on the Volga by C.S. Walton (Claudia Press, BM Claudia, London WC1N 3XX, U.K., 1995) 120pp. **£5.99** paper (**\$10.00** post-paid from the publisher).

Little Tenement on the Volga is a witty, entertaining and relentlessly demystifying look at the realities of post-Soviet life in the formerly closed



military city of Samara. If you read the selections from C.S. Walton's previous books reprinted in the Spring/Summer & Fall 1994 issues of this magazine, you'll already know that Claudia has an acute eye for important details and isn't afraid to point them out even when it hurts. Unfortunately, in an out-of-the-way provincial city like Samara (despite being the sixth largest in Russia), this requires an at times exhausting listing of the deadening humiliations and indignities suffered by people (especially women) living in this miserable everyday reality. In Claudia's ultimately pessimistic judgment, the tenement in which she lived “was a microcosm of provincial Russia. The inhabitants of both tenement and country are depressed and impoverished. Their fear kindles racist and authoritarian beliefs...When they can no longer find refuge in the bottle or the stars, they will seek it under the centuries-old heel of despotism.” **-J.M.**

Guy Debord is Really Dead

Guy Debord is Really Dead by Luther Blissett

(Sabotage Editions, BM Senior, London WC1N 3XX, U.K.) 40pp. **£3.00** booklet.

Luther Blissett (a neoist multiple-identity) has written a semi-tribute to and semi-denunciation of the French situationist and would-be revolutionary Guy Debord who recently killed himself while suffering from ill health. Like his infamous colleague Stewart Home (although seemingly—in this incarnation—with a bit more knowledge of radical history), Blissett pursues something of a vendetta against the sins of the better known Situationist International group based in Paris, writing in defense of the less well-known group of situationist aesthetes based in Scandinavia (who had been ejected by their former comrades). Basically Blissett thinks that Debord might have been OK if he'd only have gotten along better with the less radical artists his faction ejected from the Situationist International. However, while it certainly appears that Debord *was* somewhat arbitrary if not dictatorial in his organizational behavior, it's by no means obvious that the S.I. would have accomplished more had the artists of the German SPUR group or members of the Dutch S.I. section not been excluded. The subject of this booklet will be rather arcane for all but those with an extreme interest in obscure—but strategically important—radical history. **-J.M.**

Trips

Trips: How Hallucinogens Work in Your Brain by Cheryl Pellerin (Seven Stories Press, 140 Watts Street, New York, NY 10013, 1998) 262pp. **\$23.95** softcover

It has often been said that the first casualty in war is the truth. The same can be said about the ongoing war on drugs. A great avalanche of poorly written anti-drug propaganda has been published—I should know because I cataloged it at one time. What is really needed are some fresh materials on drugs, which clearly explain how drugs work and cut through all of the politics. Fortunately, *Trips* is a step in the right direction.

First off, it should be noted that *Trips* is lavishly illustrated with comics from the 60s and 70s, including comics by artists S. Clay Wilson, R. Crumb, Victor Moscoso, Rick Griffin, Spain Rodriguez and many others. These old underground comics greatly add to the book and evoke an era when hallucinogens were becoming widely popular. Ellen Seefelt contributes some ex-

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cellent science illustrations, which are very helpful when the author explains the chemical processes behind hallucinogens.

One of the helpful things about *Trips* is how Pellerin explains the scientific process in layperson's terms. She narrates several stories about scientists and research, such as Albert Hoffman, who discovered various synthetic hallucinogens, including the notable accidental discovery of LSD. Science is also a highly political process and it and research often gets swept away by public hysteria. Lots of bad policies are made based on misunderstandings of scientific discoveries and the research process. One example detailed in *Trips* is the process in the late 60s when LSD was demonized in the media, which led to it becoming a scheduled (illegal or controlled) substance. Scientists throughout the 60s had been performing thousands of studies on LSD and other hallucinogens, including research on using the drugs to treat alcoholism and mental diseases. A few published studies were taken out of context by the media and this was compounded by hysterical journalistic accounts that spread misinformation about drug-crazed hippies. The end result was that a useful, pleasurable drug was banned and almost all medical research on hallucinogens was stopped.

Trips also covers lesser known hallucinogens such as ayahuasca, DMT, psilocybin, igobaine, and many others. She explains how these substances work in the body, with lengthy explanations on neurochemistry and how the brain works. Pellerin gives us a tour through government agencies and their policies on drug use and abuse. This tour includes questions and answers from the author's interviews with various officials. This tour is followed by a summary of current research and possible directions in the 21st century for hallucinogen research.

The book concludes with an excellent bibliography and a resource guide to Internet sites. The resource guide includes resources from all points of view—it's encouraging that the author encourages readers to be skeptical about all information they come across, including "authoritative" websites.

It looks like the façade of Drug War lies is starting to crumble. One of the positive signs that people want accurate information and research into the effects of scheduled drugs is the widespread success in recent years of medical marijuana referenda. There is a great deal of misinformation out there about hallucinogenic drugs,

most of it concocted by government agencies and spread by mainstream media and opportunistic politicians. Thankfully, *Trips* is an excellent antidote to the avalanche of Drug War misinformation.

-C.M.

Dark Alliance

Dark Alliance: the CIA, the Contras, and the Crack Cocaine Explosion by Gary Webb (Seven Stories Press, 140 Watts Street, New York, NY 10013, 1998) 548pp. \$24.95 hardcover.

If you read the alternative press on a regular basis, by now you've probably heard about Gary Webb's explosive report on the CIA/Crack Cocaine connection that he wrote for the San Jose Mercury News. You may also be familiar with how pro-government newspapers like the New York Times and the Washington Post dismissed his series as old news and the stuff of African-American conspiracy theorists. They failed to mention that they never covered the CIA/Contra drug angle in the first place. After Webb had been dissed by the major newspapers, the Mercury News, in a cowardly move all too common these days at major newspapers, took Webb's series off their website, and transferred Webb to a less desirable reporting post. *Dark Alliance* is an excellent attempt to tell the rest of the story about CIA and U.S. government complicity in the crack epidemic of the 1980s.

Dark Alliance spins a riveting tale of political intrigue, drug smuggling, murder, betrayal—it's too bad it really happened. The human toll from U.S. intervention in Central America in the 1980s was immense, not just in the hundred of thousands of lives lost in wars and by death squads. Cocaine and the hypocritical drug war fought against drug users, who are mostly poor, ruined millions of lives in the U.S. While there is no smoking gun that the U.S. government conspired to bring tons and tons of cocaine into African American communities, there is plenty of evidence that they knew about it and could have stopped it, but did nothing for political reasons. After all, the Contras were shipping plane loads of cocaine into the United States to make money to buy arms for their revolution against those evil communists. There were even DEA agents, government prosecutors and many others who attempted to halt the drug shipments, but were met by thunderous silence from the CIA.

The cast of characters in *Dark Alliance* is so numerous that it's easy to lose count: DEA agents, drug smugglers, Contras, cocaine dealers, government officials, lawyers, and many more. Such is the nature of operations and events that spanned dozens of countries and spanned a decade.

The events behind *Dark Alliance* also include what happened to all of the imported cocaine. A fascinating character in the Contra cocaine pipeline, at least the part that funneled cocaine into California, is "Freeway" Ricky Ross, who started out as a small time dealer and ended up as one of the principal cocaine wholesalers in southern California. Of interest here is how he capitalized on the creation of crack cocaine and perfected the franchising and fast food-like marketing of crack to African Americans. The crack cocaine epidemic of the 80s and 90s is really a tale of capitalism run amuck. If anything shows what true free market capitalism would look like, sans government regulation or community roadblocks, the crack cocaine industry is a pure success story.

One of the underlying themes of *Dark Alliance* is the failure of mainstream journalism to cover this subject matter, either now or back in the 1980s when this information was being divulged in the Iran/Contra hearings. It's not like the facts were hidden in classified government files. Any journalist reading the transcripts from government hearings or from numerous drug trafficker trials should have been able to piece together the bigger picture. It's more frightening that journalists have been largely silent in the wake of the San Jose Mercury series and resultant backlash. This timidity doesn't bode well for the future of corporate newspapers or the ability of the journalism profession to maintain any critical independence.

Dark Alliance is probably one of the most important books on government wrongdoing in recent memory. It demonstrates that a government's policies, and the illegal covert actions of those who purport to uphold those policies, can have terrible effects throughout the hemisphere and even boomerang back to harm the citizens of the provoking nation.

-C.M.

Green Apocalypse

Green Apocalypse by Luther Blissett & Stewart Home (Sabotage Editions, BM Senior, London, WC1N 3XX, U.K.) no price listed, booklet.

In *Green Apocalypse* Neoists Luther Blissett and

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Stuart Home attack the activists who publish the English magazine **Green Anarchist**, which has an ecological, primitivist slant not unlike a significant segment of the North American anarchist milieu. This particular booklet is part of an ongoing feud in which charges and counter-charges have been flying and in which both sides are doing their best to label the other fascist despite the fact that the label fits neither very well. Blissett and Home have the advantage in radical scholarship, (unscrupulous) sarcasm and subtlety of argument, while the **Green Anarchist** crew have more raw enthusiasm, a more traditionally left activist approach—in which theory takes second place to activism, and a conspiratorial interpretation of state intervention which allows them to believe that there may be more than meets the eye to those who attack and make fun of them like the Neoists. Although there are some important questions discussed here, this is unfortunately an insiders diatribe which will make little sense to those unfamiliar with the players. -J.M.

Other Short Reviews

Thank You for Sharing: 20 Years of Quotes from Hollywood Foreign Press Interviews by Philip Berk (Brownell & Carroll, 3901 Mac Arthur Blvd., Suite 200, Newport Beach, CA 92660, 1996) 253pp. \$12.95 paper.

Thank You for Sharing is a quintessential book for waiting rooms, bathrooms, or when your attention span is short and you're not in the mood to think too much. All the same, even an extreme critic of cinema like myself—who believes that most movies should never have been made—will find a few short gems from the famous stars and directors in these pages, if you want to sift through the rest to find them. -J.M.

Conversations With Durito by Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos (Accion Zapatista, 707 Highland Ave. #C, Austin, TX 78703) 94pp. booklet, no price listed.

Subcomandante Marcos of the Zapatista indigenous insurgents (EZLN) of the Lacandon forest of southern Mexico often spends his free time creating unusual stories—besides issuing the predictable communiques one expects from radical military organizations. In this case he has created a beetle called Don Durito who models himself after Don Quixote while giving philosophical and strategic advice to Marcos, his Sancho Panza. These popular stories, available worldwide through the internet on the Chiapas95 list, have been collected in this pirate edition for the many Norte Americanos on this side of the Mexican border who would like to get a more intimate feel for one of the major personalities otherwise obscured by the extremely biased mainstream media coverage available in the U.S. and Canada. -J.M.

Arsbile: A Magazine of the Arts (96 Tears Press, Los Angeles, CA, 1996) double issue \$18.00 paper.

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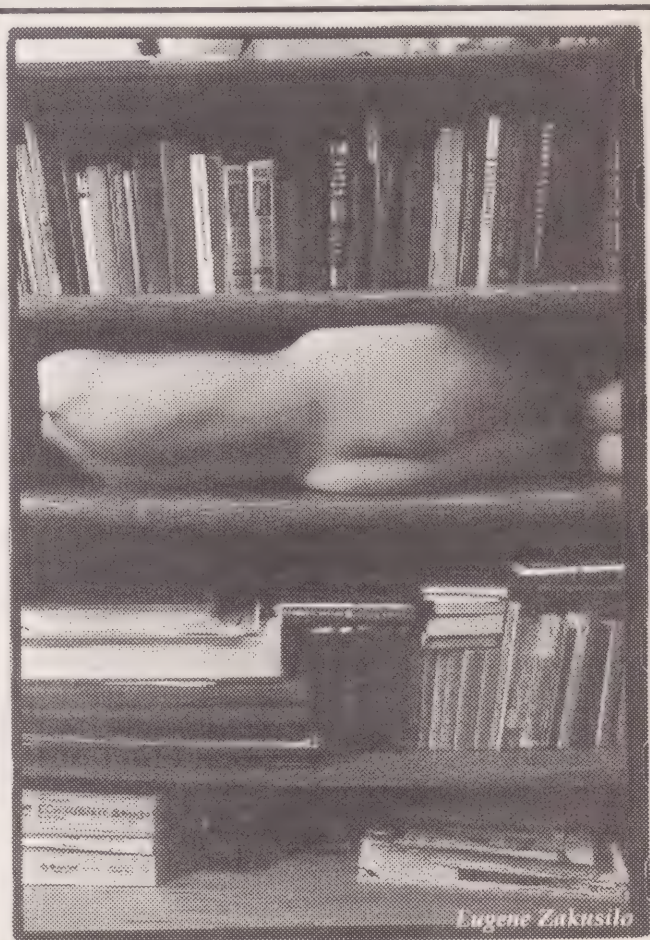
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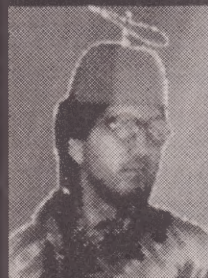
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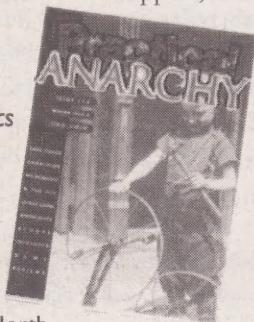
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gets you a glossy cover and presto! Yoko Ono does
a poem with holes that must have cost a pretty
penny to produce. *Arsbile* is billed as a magazine
of the *arts* but actually its filled with poetry and
not much else. Which brings me to the subject of
arteriosclerosis. Once upon a time literature
wasn't shut up in its own "department": it worked
alongside politics, painting, philosophy, police
raids, sexuality, insults, praise, and cultural dissi-
dence in journals that offered things to do and
places to go do it. Transformative action was the
order of the day. But then along came academe
and ways of doing that channeled the arts into
specializations well divorced from the world.
There they thickened and coagulated. *Arsbile* is a
very very very boring case in point. -Allan Antliff

*The Umbrella of U.S. Power: The Universal
Declaration of Human Rights and the
Contradictions of U.S. Policy* by Noam
Chomsky (Seven Stories Press, 140 Watts St.,
New York NY 10013, 1999) 78pp. \$5.95 paper

Against Civilization is a startling new anthol-
ogy (with contributions from Rousseau to the
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The U.S. likes to quote from international
laws and humanitarian principles such as the
Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UD),
but only when it serves U.S. foreign policy goals.
In this new pamphlet from the Open Media
Pamphlet Series, Noam Chomsky closely
examines the Universal Declaration and how the
U.S. has selectively used it or ignored it. What's
ironic is that the U.S. was the primary sponsor
of the UD, which was unanimously adopted by
the U.N. right after WW II. One of the key
aspects of the Universal Declaration that the U.S.
prefers to ignore is the language about
economic rights. An example of this is how U.S.
officials make a stink about goods made by
prison labor in China, yet remain silent about
the same practice in the United States. Prison
labor is a violation of the UD. While the
Universal Declaration has some noble prin-
ciples, they aren't much good if the "leader of
the free world" consistently ignores them.

Continued on next page

Midwest Anarchists Bill & Tony

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sive place.

Bill: People that are anarchists or inclined to anarchism need to be building an anarchist movement. Recently, I have seen a number of anarchist-minded people working in solidarity with state-oriented people. But those anarchists are not involved in the decision-making process like they would be as part of an anarchist process. Outside of the consensus process there is very little room for criticism. People find themselves always on the outside looking in.

Tony: I believe in the theory that in a world of oppression you find the most oppressed and work with them.

Bill: I believe in the theory you have to start with your own oppression. If you get involved with people who do not share similar oppressions, then there is not a real relationship taking place.

Tony: Maybe we've let people down, come short of what we claimed to be, not provided what they want, and so they're fed up with this particular place. They go somewhere else.

Bill: This says something about us, and it also says something about them. In the end it's nothing but liberalism. When you find other people who share your oppression and you work on it together, then you're about real revolution. Otherwise it's not a real relationship.

James: What is the ideal role for an Infoshop in the revolutionary movement?

Tony: The ideal role for infoshops is that of a sparkplug of sorts. Infoshops are a place to practice new roles and social relationships, a place for information, a place to make you feel sane, less isolated and alienated. The Azone can build self-confidence through experience, perhaps even encouraging people to start up their own workers collective. To make all this happen we will need a greater number of people taking on greater responsibility. This means spreading out responsibilities—people can stay sane, feel involved and

participate. Everyone should feel that their role is important, ideally without some folks feeling like they have a major role and others a minor one. We must also have a real serious approach to publicity. I think that many more people would be interested in anarchism and the Azone— if they knew about it.

The Simple Truth

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[xv] List announcement: Recent Violence and Schizophrenia/Neurobiological Brain Disorders <http://www.schizophrenia.com/family/viol.html> Chico transmitted 65 incidents in his January 1999 *NBD and Violence* newsletters. Examples are on the web page cited above.

[xvi] You can find it at: <http://www.psychlaws.org/ep.asp>

[xvii] Two versions of a NAMI press release appeared when this terrible event occurred. The one on the NAMI web site is rather innocuous. See: <http://www.nami.org/pressroom/19980619.html>. The exploitation was clear though in interviews given by Laurie Flynn that same day: <http://sddt.com/files/librarywire/98/06/19/1k.html>.

[xviii] Each time there is a tragedy to exploit NAMI responds by repeating their four point plan of increased coercion and force by way of the *NAMI ENEWS*. See the January 7, 1999 edition. Exploiting the subway murder in NY City. In the August 6, 1998 edition they published it in response to the Capitol murders.

The Plan:

"Unfortunately, a recent national study has documented that fewer than 50 percent of individuals who struggle with schizophrenia receive the care that science has proven to work. The experience of NAMI families—who often have had to fight to get loved ones the kind of treatment they need—has taught us that four critical elements must be in place to help those with the illness:

1. community-based care including ongoing medical treatment, housing, rehabilitation and other supports for those who are able to recognize the need for care and manage their own illness.

2. assertive community treatment programs that provide 24-hour-a-day outreach and crisis support for those who are less able to maintain their treatment requirements.

3. outpatient treatment orders that require participation in treatment as a condition for living in the community for those who do not respond to outreach and resist treatment.

4. involuntary inpatient commitment that provides short-term hospitalization to treat and stabilize acute psychiatric symptoms for those who are unable to recognize the need for treatment due to the symptoms of their illness."

One of the more interesting things to note when reading the *ENEWS* and press releases is the escalation in NAMI's membership numbers. February 17, 1999 release states 203,000 members up from 185,000 reported in September. Not surprising if former Missouri State Chapter MOCAMI's reporting technique is used. They multiply each paid member by 3 when reporting their membership numbers to the National (personal conversation with K.Hill, former MOCAMI Board Member) If you make a donation, you are considered a paid member in St. Louis.

[xix] Torrey ran to Sacramento in February 1999 to repeat his violence routine as the state looked at increasing coercion and force there: <http://www.latimes.com/sbin/iawrapper?NS-search-set=/36cac/aaaa003Tgcac145&NS-doc-offset=3&NS-adv-search=0&>

[xx] *Baltimore Sun* on line article: <http://www.sunspot.net/cgi-bin/editorial/story.cgi?section=archive&storyid=1050000211247>

Book Reviews

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Acts of Aggression: Policing "Rogue" States with essays by Noam Chomsky, Ramsey Clark, and Edward W. Said (Seven Stories Press, 140 Watts St., New York NY 10013, 1999) 62pp. \$6.95 paper

What exactly constitutes a "rogue" state? If you a regular consumer of mainstream media, you are probably familiar with the usual suspects the U.S. regularly trots out: Libya, North Korea, Iraq, Iran, and Cuba. It looks like they can cross North Korea off the list, now that their nuclear missile "program" turns out to be an empty tunnel. As the authors of this wonderful, concise pamphlet point out, if the concept of "rogue state" is to be of any use, we have to examine how such concepts further American racist policies around the world, and how hypocritical the U.S. is in pointing fingers everywhere but at itself. Edward Said looks at American attitudes toward the Arab world and the tendency for the U.S. to puritanically punish any state or group that dares to interfere with U.S. interests. Noam Chomsky weighs in with an analysis on how the U.S. constructs the notion of "rogue states" and at the same time deflects attention away from its own wrongdoing. Special attention is paid to U.S. aggression against Iraq. Ramsey Clark examines how the U.S. continues to violate the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. A great pocket guide to foreign policy.

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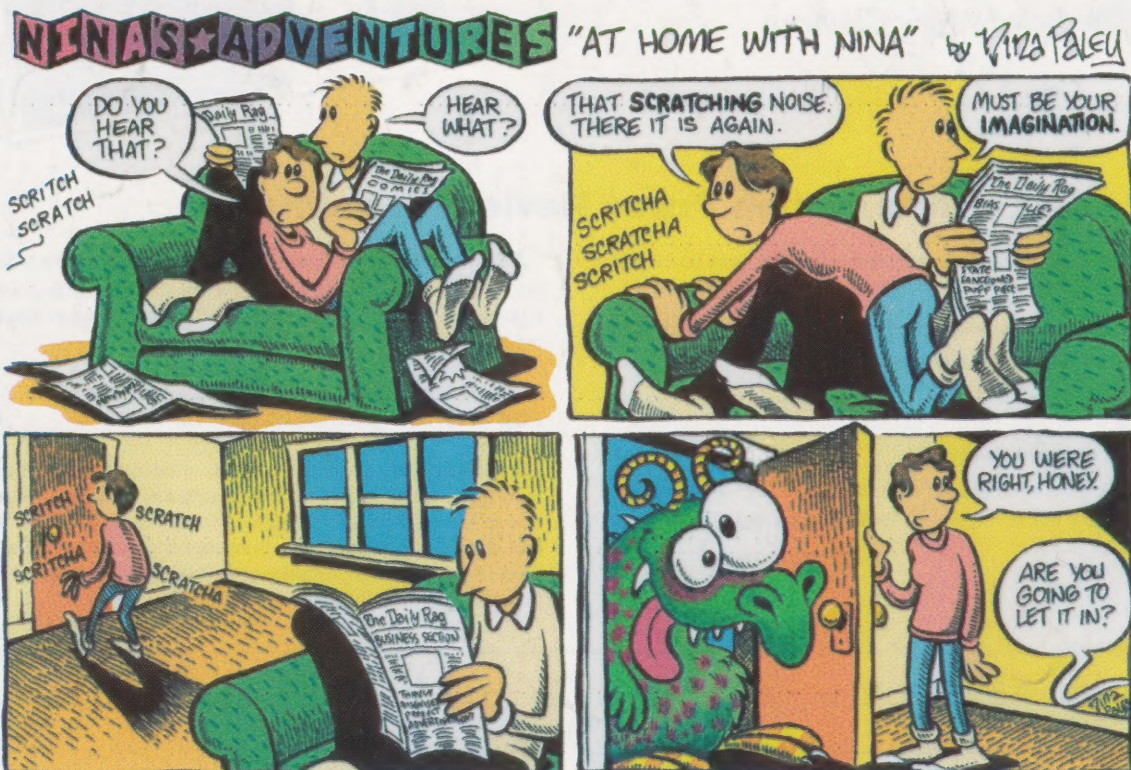
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